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THE
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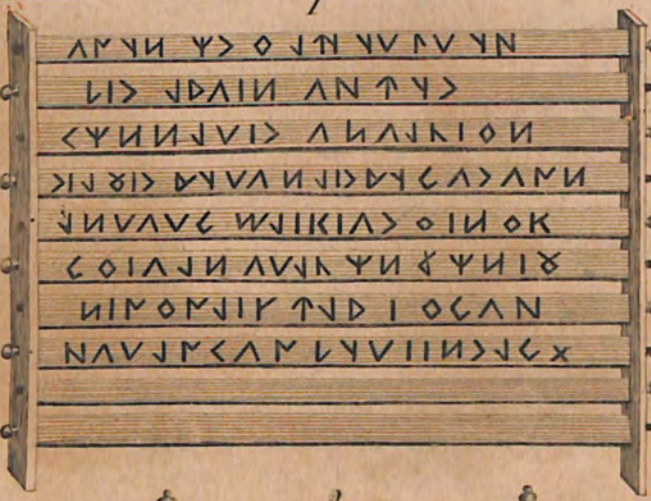

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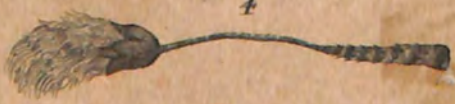

1 Pithynen or Bardic Staff with a Specimen of the Bardic Writing
2. Form of the M.S. Rolls used in the Jewish Synagogues when unrolled.
3. Ancient M.S. rolled up.
4. Papyrus or Egyptian Reed.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

BIBLICAL LITERATURE,

EXHIBITING

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THE HISTORY AND FATE OF THE

Sacred Writings,

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT CENTURY;

INCLUDING

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF TRANSLATORS, AND OTHER EMINENT BIBLICAL SCHOLARS.

BY THE REV. JAMES TOWNLEY,

Author of "Biblical Anecdotes."

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1821.

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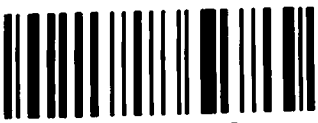


B. Crompton, Printer, Bury,
Lancashire.

PREFACE.

"THE BIBLE," said the immortal Locke, "has GOD for its author; truth without any mixture of error for its matter; and salvation for its end." These views are cordially adopted by the author of the following volumes, to whom it has long appeared as an indubitable fact, that mankind are indebted to Revelation for all true knowledge of God and divine things. No modification of inert, divisible, and senseless matter, can suggest the idea of one infinite, indivisible, self-existent Spirit, the Creator, and Preserver, and Governor of all things:—the wisest heathen philosophers have acknowledged themselves indebted to tradition for their purest and most sublime notions of the Deity:—and the great sages of antiquity sought information from Eastern sources, by travel or inquiry.

Impressed with these sentiments, the study of the invaluable Records of wisdom and grace, has formed one of the most interesting and delightful occupations of the present writer; and the more diligently and critically he has examined them, the more fully he has been convinced of their divine origin and inspiration. To trace the successive history, and various fate, of these Divine Writings, from the promulgation of the Law, on Sinai, to the present eventful period, has, for several years, employed the hours which he could spare from the laborious engagements of ministerial duty. The present work is the result of some of those inquiries, and will, it is hoped, supply a desideratum in Sacred literature, by offering to the reader a more comprehensive view of the progress of Biblical translations, and of the literary and ecclesiastical history of the Holy Scriptures, than has hitherto been presented to the public.

Numerous bibliographical and historical works, of various merit and popularity, have been published, in which the different versions of the Scriptures, the multiplied editions of them, and their general history, have been expressly con-

sidered, or incidentally noticed; but so far as the author is acquainted with them, they are more limited in their objects, than the present work. Lewis, Newcome, Johnson, Cruttwell, Gray, and Todd, confine their inquiries to the English translations: Crowe's *Elenchus Scriptorum*, a small but valuable work, now become extremely rare, is in a great measure superseded by more recent publications: the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of Le Long, and of his editors Boerner and Masch, is indispensable to the bibliographer, and Biblical student, but is chiefly, though not entirely, restricted to bibliographical notices, and the catalogue of the works of writers on Biblical subjects: the excellent works of De Bure, Clement, Panzer, Dibdin, Peignot, and other similar writers, only notice Biblical publications, as connected with bibliography: Adler's *Bibliotheca Biblica*, though professedly a catalogue of the editions of the Scriptures in the king of Wurtemberg's library, is interpersed with very brief, but important notes, relative to the editions in that collection: Father Simon's *Critical Histories*, and other works, are the productions of an original and daring genius, exhibiting extraordinary research, and critical ability; and notwithstanding

his occasional aberrations, and the publication of more modern compilations, will always claim the attention of the Biblical student: the works of Korthold, Hottinger, and Sixtus Senensis, though comparatively antiquated, have still their value: Michaelis's *Introduction to the New Testament,* translated from the German, by Bishop Marsh, and accompanied with his notes, will be duly appreciated by every scholar desirous of a critical acquaintance with the Sacred Writings, though only those versions and MSS. are noticed in it, which serve to illustrate the original text: and Bishop Marsh's controversial treatise, entitled *A History of the Translations which have been made of the Scriptures, from the earliest to the present age,* notwithstanding its brevity will not detract from the high character of its distinguished author: Thomson and Orme's *Historical Sketch of the Translation and Circulation of the Scriptures,* designed to illustrate the principles and importance of Bible Societies, comprises within a small compass, much valuable information, and is highly creditable to the learned secretaries of the "Perthshire Bible Society:" Horne's *Introduction to the Critical Study of the*

Bible; Bishop Marsh's *Course of Lectures* on Divinity; Hamilton's *Introduction to the Hebrew Scriptures;* Whitaker's *Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures;* and other similar works, though discovering extensive learning, and exceedingly valuable for the purposes of Sacred criticism, are too cursory in their observations upon the different versions, to preclude the necessity of a more extensive view of Biblical translations: Archbishop Usher's rare and erudite *Historia Dogmatica de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis,* published after his decease, with additions, by Dr. Hen. Wharton, displays an astonishing acquaintance with ecclesiastical writers of every age and country, and is intended to show that it was the universal practice of the ancient Christians, to read and circulate the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular tongues, and consequently consists, almost wholly, of extracts and references: Walch's *Bibliotheca Theologica,* though exceedingly important as a work of reference to the theological student, affording a most extensive catalogue of works on divinity and ecclesiastical history, gives little more than the dates, and the names of editors

of select editions of the Bible in the Original Text, or vernacular translations: Dr. Adam Clarke's *General Preface,* and *Introduction to the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles,* prefixed to his Commentary, display the profound learning, and sound judgment, of that eminent Oriental scholar and divine; and will be found particularly useful, the former for the list of the most celebrated *Jewish* and *Christian Commentators,* and the critical judgment of their respective merits, the latter for the account it contains of the origin of the *Various Readings,* the most important Greek *MSS.* and the *Ancient Versions;* they do not, however, preclude the necessity of a more detailed and general history of Sacred literature: Calmet's notices of Versions, given in his *Dictionnaire de la Bible,* are comparatively meagre and incomplete: Butler's *Horæ Biblicæ* is an inestimable little work, comprising a compendious and elegant view of Biblical literature, but principally restricted to the original texts, and ancient versions: and finally, the various *Prolegomena* of Walton, Mill, Houbigant, and others, though profoundly learned, are only intended to assist the theologian in his critical inquiries, and therefore cannot supersede the

attempt of a work less critical, but more comprehensive and historical.

In 1813, the author published a small volume entitled "Biblical Anecdotes," which met with a favourable reception, and was noticed in some of the literary journals with peculiar candour and liberality; another edition being called for, the writer conceived he could not more properly mark his grateful sense of the public approbation, than by endeavouring to render his work more perfect, and thereby, as he hoped, more useful to the Biblical scholar, and more worthy of general perusal. This he has attempted in the present "Illustrations," which, from its embracing a range and variety of information inconsistent with the size and object of his former publication, may be considered as a new work, and to which he has, therefore, prefixed a title more appropriate to the diversified nature of the subjects it embraces.

In this work it has been the wish of the writer, to present his readers with a connected view of the History of Biblical translations, and of the state of Sacred Literature, from the earliest date, to the commencement of the present century, with "Biographical notices of eminent Biblical Scho-

lars, and critics," and such occasional sketches of the history of the manners and superstitions of the darker ages, as may illustrate the advantages derivable from a more general dissemination of the Inspired Writings.—In such a work, various imperfections will, doubtless, be discovered by many excellent scholars, whose profound learning, and extensive acquaintance with every part of Sacred literature and criticism, would have qualified them for undertaking a similar work, with peculiar success; the author, nevertheless, is assured, that those who are best able to appreciate the difficulties of the work, will be the first to apologize for its defects, and to render justice to its merits. He is, however, free to confess, that had he contemplated the obstacles which presented themselves to the accomplishment of his design, he should scarcely have ventured to undertake it. With hardly a ray to guide him through the untravelled paths of the dark ages of ignorance and superstition, he has turned over many a ponderous tome, hoping to meet with information suited to his subject, and been utterly disappointed. The scantiness of biographical history, the diversity of dates, and the

discordant opinions of bibliographers, increased his labour: hours, and sometimes days, have been spent, in procuring a biographical notice, fixing a date, ascertaining the author of a version, or reconciling the apparent contradictions of historical details, and, in some cases, without effect. If, after all, his work prove serviceable to the interests of the Christian religion, to which he is infinitely indebted for invaluable consolations and hopes, and receive the approbation of the Almighty Head of the Church, the author will be more than remunerated for his labours.

It is with feelings of grateful pleasure, that the writer acknowledges the aid afforded him by several gentlemen of literary eminence and piety; to several of whom he is personally unknown:

The Rev. Dr. Ebenezer Henderson, with characteristic kindness, not only permitted him to abridge the account of Icelandic Versions, given in the Appendix to his "Iceland: or the Journal of a Residence in that Island," but on learning the nature of this work, unsolicitedly requested the Committee of the "British and Foreign Bible Society," to place in his hands a most valuable *Manuscript History of Danish Versions*, written by

himself, and presented to the library of that Institution;—a request most liberally and promptly granted.

The Rev. W. A. THOMSON of Perth, one of the authors of the excellent "Historical Sketch of the Translation and Circulation of the Scriptures," favoured him with several important communications: and by his friendly and successful application obtained a biographical account of the late pious and Rev. *James Stuart*, the translator of the Gaelic New Testament, and "Notices," &c. relative to the editions and translations of the Gaelic Scriptures, from Dr. STUART, of Luss, the translator of the Gaelic Old Testament, and the modest and learned emulator of his father's virtues and studies.

The Rev. JOHN HUGHES, the valuable author of "Horæ Britannicæ, or Studies in Ancient British History," supplied nearly the whole account of the editions of the Welsh Bible, and of the translators and editors of that version.

The Rev. DR. ADAM CLARKE; the Rev. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE; W. YATES, Esq. of Manchester; Mr. JONATHAN CROWTHER, Jun. of Frodsham; and Mr. T. J. WOOD, of Bury, Lanca-

shire, have likewise lent occasional aid, by valuable communications, or friendly counsel, or the loan of rare and expensive books.

The author also records, with peculiar gratification, the prompt and liberal replies to his inquiries, with which he was favoured by the Rev. Dr. MILNER, a Catholic prelate of distinguished eminence and learning; and the Rev. C. PLOWDEN, the venerable superior of the Catholic seminary at Stoneyhurst; both of whom, but more especially the latter, manifested a generous solicitude to procure him the information he desired.

But notwithstanding the kindness of his friends, the author must necessarily have been greatly restricted in his opportunities of consulting the works requisite for the completion of his design, but for the advantages afforded by the COLLEGIATE LIBRARY of his native place; a Library which is in the fullest sense, *public*, and which presents every facility of access and assistance to the student, in the prosecution of his inquiries.

In the selection of references to the works consulted, the author has sometimes been influenced by the authority of the works themselves, and at others, by their being more accessible to the

junior student, who may be desirous of pursuing the subject more extensively; but in no case has he referred to a work at the foot of the page, which he has not either personally examined, or acknowledged the authority to which he was indebted. To have increased the number of references would have been easy, but it was deemed unnecessary.

The work is now presented to the public, not without hope that the same indulgent candour which encouraged the minor publication of the writer, will be exercised towards the present volumes; and that the severity of criticism will be superseded by the plaudit of approval.

J. TOWNLEY.

SALFORD, MANCHESTER,
March 14th, 1821.

Illustrations

OF

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

PART I.

FROM THE GIVING OF THE LAW TO THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Remarks. Giving of the Law. Origin of Alphabetical Characters. Eulogium on Moses. Samaritan Pentateuch. Materials used in Writing. Ancient Manuscripts.

A DIVINE REVELATION is indispensably necessary to man, to instruct him in the nature and perfections of the Deity; to acquaint him with the history of his own creation; to explain to him his moral duties, and to inform him of his future destiny: for without a revelation, the most vigorous mind, the most cultivated understanding must be incapable of apprehending the Infinite, of discovering the origin of man, or of deducing with certainty the acts of devotion and morality most acceptable to Him, who "DWELLETH IN THE LIGHT WHICH NO MAN CAN APPROACH UNTO." 1 Tim. vi. 16.

During the early ages of the world, the extraordinary longevity of mankind rendered a *written* revelation unnecessary. Tradition was sufficient to transmit, with accuracy, the truths which were revealed to the patriarchal families. *Adam* and *Noah* were connected together by *Methuselah*, who lived to see them both; *Shem* might converse with *Noah* and *Abraham*; as *Isaac* did with

Joseph; with whom *Amram* the father of Moses was contemporary. But, after the years of the life of man had been abridged to threescore and ten, the rapid succession of human generations required another mode of revelation, to prevent the obliteration of the records of the world, and to guard against the corruption of the divine precepts by the frequency of oral communication.[1]

The infinitely wise and gracious God condescended to the necessities of man, and favoured him with a revelation suited to the brevity of his life. The first instance of this kind of revelation was that of the *Two Tables of Stone*, on which the DECALOGUE, or Ten Commandments, was WRITTEN WITH THE FINGER OF GOD. (Exod. xxxi. 18.)

To this period the *Origin of Writing* has been referred by many learned men, and Moses has been considered as instructed in the knowledge of ALPHABETICAL CHARACTERS, by divine revelation. Clemens Alexandrinus informs us, (Stromat Lib. i.) that Eupolemus states it as a correct opinion, "that Moses was the first Sophist, or Wise-Man; and that he first delivered Grammar or Letters to the Jews, from whom they were received by the Phenicians, and from the Phenicians by the Greeks." And Augustin (De Civit. Dei. Lib. xviii. ch. xxxix.) asserts, that "the Hebrew Letters began from the Law given by Moses." The same opinion has been defended by several modern writers of eminent learning and ability, especially by Gale in *The Court of the Gentiles,* pt. i. B. i. ch. x. Hartley in his *Observations on Man,* pt. i. ch. iii. prop. 83. The learned author of *Conjectural Observations on the Origin and Progress of Alphabetic Writing;* Winder in his *History of Knowledge,* vol. II. ch. i—iv. Clarke (Dr. A.) in *Remarks on the Origin of Language* inserted in his *Bibliographical Miscellany,* vol. I. and *Succession of Sacred Literature,* vol I. and Horne in his *Introduction to the study of Bibliography,*

(1) Clarke's Bibliographical Miscellany, I. pp. 4—6.

vol. I. pt. i. ch. ii. sec. 1. This opinion has been vigorously opposed by numerous and erudite writers, among whom Astle ranks foremost, for his elaborate defence of the *human* invention of Alphabetical Characters in his celebrated work on the *Origin and Progress of Writing*. The arguments of Mr. Astle were, however, powerfully combated by an able critic in the *Monthly Review*, (Old Series), vol. lxxi. p. 271. *et seq.*

The invention of an ALPHABET, or of a limited number of arbitrary signs, which by their varied position should express all the variety of human sentiment and language, seems to be a discovery, of so sublime and complicated a nature, that if not absolutely beyond the possibility of the mental energy of man to elicit, it must necessarily demand the lapse of ages to complete its development, and to advance it to perfection. For the ideas of all the *elements* of language, or the very *beginnings* of every simple unarticulated sound from which these are produced, as lines are generated by the fluxion of a point, "must have previously existed in the mind of the first inventor of a complete Alphabet, or it would have been impossible to determine what number of *elemental characters* were requisite, to express the seeming infinite variety of complex sounds in every language upon earth, even in the most ordinary conversation."[2]* But when, it may be inquired, was such a process actually contemplated; what were the various stages of its advancement towards perfection; and at what period was it completed?

It is true the advocates of the mere human origin of letters, refer us to the Egyptian and Mexican hieroglyphics as to the rudiments of alphabets, and assure us that neces-

(2) Conjectural Observations on the Origin and Progress of Alphabetic Writing, p. 41. Lond. 1772. 8vo.

* The able mathematician Tacquet (*Arithmetical Theor.* p. 517) calculates that the various combinations of the twenty-four letters of the alphabet, without any repetition, will amount to 620,448,401,733,239, 439,360,000.—See Astle on the *Origin and Progress of Writing*, ch. ii. p. 20. Lond. 1803. fol.

sity, convenience, or chance would produce abbreviated marks, and ultimately the alphabetic character and system; but in no instance do they show us a nation carrying hieroglyphic signs to their completion in an alphabet. The Egyptians and Mexicans never appear to have deduced letters from the symbolic figures which they were accustomed to describe, but to have continued the use of them with unvaried similarity, through the whole period of their history. The Greeks and other nations, on the contrary, who made use of alphabetical characters, never spoke of them as derived from hieroglyphical delineations, but as the invention of particular persons, or as communicated to them by their gods.

The earliest account we have of the use of Alphabetical Characters is among the Jews, a people, certainly not remarkable for their inventive genius, however venerable in other respects; and the most ancient records in existence are those of Moses, their great legislator. Prior to his day we have no certain proofs of the practice of writing, and the most zealous supporters of the ante-mosaic origin of letters, can only offer plausible conjectures; but from the period of the giving of the Law, the graphic art was in constant use among the Jews wherever dispersed by conquest, persecution, or traffic. It is therefore not an improbable hypothesis, that the knowledge of Alphabetical Characters was one of the benefits conferred upon the Israelites by the Divine Being, by the instrumentality of Moses, to whom, at least the rudiments were divinely revealed.

The advantages resulting from a knowledge of what has sometimes been called *Epistolic Writing*, to distinguish it from *Symbolical*, or *Hieroglyphical*, are so immense; and its practice so peculiarly adapted to the state of the Jewish nation at the time of the Mosaic legislation, as to confirm the opinion that God communicated the knowledge of letters to Moses. "The usefulness of Alphabetical Characters," says a learned author, "cannot be sufficiently estimated.

without *writing*, the histories of ancient times had never reached us; and the necessary intercourses of friendship and business must have been greatly retarded in general, and in many cases wholly obstructed. Without it, those *living oracles* which teach the science of salvation, and make known the God of truth, could never have existed. When God, therefore purposed to give a revelation of himself to mankind, is it not reasonable to suppose, that he graciously taught them the use of alphabetical characters, that these divine and interesting records, might be handed down from generation to generation?"[3]

Of the insufficiency of hieroglyphic symbols to preserve and transmit the treasures of wisdom and science to posterity, there is demonstrative proof in the instance of Egypt. "We have remaining at this day," observes Michaelis, "an immense number of Egyptian hieroglyphics, partly on stones, walls, and obelisks, and partly too on copper plates, which have been submitted to all the literary world: but out of them all, no mortal has hitherto elicited one rational sentence, of the length of a single line; although from the work of *Horapollo*, we know many particulars relative to the meaning of the individual characters. The key having been once lost, it is seemingly impossible ever to find it again. The ancient learning of Egypt, which might include many things of supreme importance to mankind, could never have thus irrecoverably perished, had alphabetical characters been inscribed on these monuments. For such characters may always be decyphered; and it is a very singular phenomenon, that, when correct plates of the *Palmyrene Inscriptions*, which several learned men had before attempted unsuccessfully to decypher, were published in *Wood's Ruins of Palmyra*, explanations were at once given by two *Literati*, unknown to each other, namely, *Mr. Swinton* and the *Abbé Barthelemy*. But the Egyptian hieroglyphics, of which

(3) Clarke's Bibliographical Miscellany, I. p. 6, Lond. 1806. 8vo.

there are extant, not a hundred, but a thousand times as many, as of the Palmyrene monuments, will, I fear, remain undeciphered till the day of judgment."[4]

The stones upon which the Egyptians inscribed their hieroglyphic figures, were regarded as objects of idolatrous veneration by the ignorant multitude; and Jablonski *(Pantheon Egypti,* vol. V.) has shewn, that the Egyptian god *Thoth,* denominated by other nations *Hermes,* or *Mercury,* and who was usually accounted the inventor of all sciences, meant nothing more than stones with hieroglyphic symbols engraven upon them. The symbolic writing of the Egyptians may, therefore, be reasonably supposed to have been one source of the idolatrous worship with which the Israelites were infected at the time of their coming out of Egypt, for even as late as the time of Ezekiel, we find an imitation of this species of idolatry common among the Jews, and described in chap. viii. 8–11. of his prophecy.[5] To stop the progress of this idolatrous attachment to hieroglyphical monuments, the adoption of alphabetic characters, was a wise and salutary measure, and from its congeniality with the inhibitory precepts of the Mosaic Law, may, with considerable probability, be supposed to have had the same origin, and to have been revealed to the Jewish legislator at the same time.

At what period in the life of Moses, the revelation of alphabetic characters was made to him, if we consider them of divine origin, is not possible to decide. The author of *Conjectural Observations on the Origin and progress of Alphabetic Writing,* (pp. 13. 42.) supposes it to have occurred upon the first arrival of the Israelites before Horeb, immediately after the first defeat of the Amalekites, (Exod. xvii.) *Dr. A. Clarke, Hartley, Winder,* and others fix the time at the Giving of the Law at Sinai, for, "as there is no evidence whatever," say they, "that there was

(4) Michaelis' Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, translated by Alex. Smith, D. D. IV. art. 250. p. 58. Lond. 1814. 8vo.
(5) Ibid, IV. p. 55, 56. 59. Conject. Obser. p. 51.

any writing in existence before the giving of the Law; and as then, God is said to have written the decalogue *with his own finger* (Exod. xxxi. 18); and as after this time *writing* is always mentioned, when a suitable occasion offers," that may justly be regarded as the date of the revelation of letters to Moses.

To this latter opinion it has been objected that, "alphabetic writing must have been in use before the giving of the Law at Sinai, since Moses had been directed before that time to write an account of the battle with Amalek *in a book*, and also to write the names of the children of Israel upon the High-Priest's breast-plate, *like the engravings of a signet*." To which it has been replied, "that both these may refer to a picture-writing, or to some improvement of it, whereby entire words were denoted, without being resolved into their simple sounds. The first might also be a prophetic intimation to Moses, however, not understood by him when it was given, that he should be soon enabled to write in a much more complete manner than he or his enemies the Egyptians, could at present."[6] To which may be added that as the engraving on signets was probably symbolical, the injunction might merely refer to the mode of engraving *in relievo*, or embossing the characters.

It has also been urged against this hypothesis, that the precept by which the Israelites were enjoined to write the words of the *Law upon the door-posts and gates of their houses* (Deut. xi. 20), presents the idea of a people already well acquainted with the art of writing. To this it is replied, that even if this or any other similar injunction be taken literally, and not, as is more probable, figuratively, for the attention demanded by the divine laws, it must necessarily refer to a period somewhat future, the original copy of the Law being laid up in the ark, from which

(6) Hartley's Observations on Man, I. p. 314.
See also Winder's Hist. of Knowledge, II. ch. iv. pp. 32—55

transcripts must be subsequently made. The precept itself evidently refers to the time of their residence in the land of promise, and not to that of their wandering in the desert and living in tents. There would therefore be ample opportunity for certain Scribes to learn the art of alphabetic writing, and to acquire a facility in transcription, so that if the great mass of the people had not become acquainted with alphabetic characters before their entrance into Canaan, they might easily be furnished by the Scribes with copies of the very small portions of the Law, to be inclosed in the *Mezuzoth*, and affixed to their door-posts, or worn in their *Phylacteries*. It is even possible, that the Rabbinical legends, respecting the explanations of the Law, or Mishna, given secretly by Moses, first to Aaron, then to his sons, and afterwards to the the Seventy Elders, might originate in the information communicated by the Jewish legislator to certain persons selected for the purpose, and designated to the office of transcription, and graphic instruction.

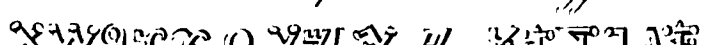
But whatever may be our opinion of the precise period of the discovery to Moses, it must be acknowledged, that "if the knowledge of Alphabetic Writing was not originally communicated by Moses to the Israelites, by whom it was imparted to the nations around them, such is the confusion of historic evidence upon the subject, that we are altogether at a loss to fix even the date of this astonishing, if not divine discovery,—a discovery which, after Providence thought proper to contract the term of human life within the narrow boundary of seventy years, became *necessary* to advance the progress of science, as well to enlighten and prepare men's minds for the reception of revealed truths, which had been so generally perverted, as in order to prevent such a perversion of them for the future."

"The supposition that *Letters* properly so called, were not first taught by Moses, leaves us utterly ignorant of the

1

Alphabets.

Ancient Hebrew from Waltons Polyglott

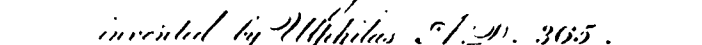


t s r k tz ǧ o r o n m l i ch v h d ǧ b a

2

Moeso Gothic.

invented by Ulphilas A.D. 365.

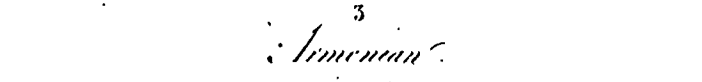


a b ǧ d e f ǧ j h i k l m n o p q r s t th nu w ch z

3

Armenian.

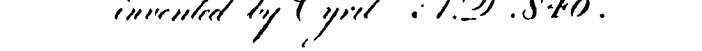
invented by Mesrob A.D. 410.



4

Servian.

invented by Cyril A.D. 840.



a b v ǧ d e ch z z i t d i y k l m n x o p r s t u v f h p s ō s c t c z c

5

Samaritan.

t sch r q ts p aa s n m l k i th hh z v h d ǧ b a

first inventor of them; and all that we are able to trace out from history concerning their invention, amounts to little more than some few plausible *conjectures* in what country they were earliest propagated, whilst the author of them is entirely unknown: and these conjectures are supported, rather upon our knowledge of what relative height the arts and sciences had attained in some nations above others, than upon any credit that is due to the authority of the most ancient writers in this particular; since whoever shall take the trouble of inquiring into their several pretensions, will find the accounts they have left us to be not only different from each other, but, for the most part, inconsistent in themselves."[7]

The *Hebrew*, the *Samaritan*, the *Syriac*, to which we may add, the *Greek* Alphabets, not to mention any other, seem to have had but one author, their respective letters following each other in the same, or nearly the same order, having the same numeral as well as vocal powers, and being called by similar names. Of these, the *Samaritan** is generally allowed to be the oldest; and the ancient characters of it, to be those originally in use among the Hebrews. In it the *Decalogue* probably was inscribed on the Tables of Stone, and the Sacred Name engraven or embossed upon the golden plate of the mitre of the High-Priests, (Exod. xxviii. 36.) Profane writers usually distinguished it by calling it *Phenician*; and from it are derived by far the greater part of the alphabets now used in different parts of the globe. By the Jews it was continued in use till the time of Ezra; when the Chaldee or present Hebrew character was adopted, and the former relinquished to the Samaritans, in order, as it is said, to render the separation between them and the Jews more complete.[8]

(7) Conjectural Observations, pp. 4, 5. * See Plate 1.

(8) Walton in Bib. Polyg. Proleg. ii, iii.

Hugo, De prima Scrib. Orig. cap, 3. p. 16. ed. Trozii, 1738, 8vo. Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, ch. iv. p. 51. Lond. 1803. fol. Hamilton's Int. to Heb. Scrip. ch. ii. pp. 32. 38. Conject. Ob. *pass:*

In the early ages certain alphabetic letters had a *numerical* value affixed to them, and were generally used as the signs of numbers, as is occasionally the practice at present. Numerical characters are of later date; and those which have for some centuries prevailed in Europe are certainly Indian. By the Indians they were communicated to the Arabs, from whom they were introduced into Europe by the Moors.[9]

Nearly contemporaneous with the Decalogue, was the promulgation of the *Ceremonial Law;* which was transcribed by Moses, and with the other portions of the Pentateuch, delivered to the Israelites before his death, about 1450 years prior to the Christian era; and about 500 preceding the age of Homer, the first and most celebrated of the Greek poets.

The character of the Inspired Legislator and his writings, is admirably appreciated, in the following just and spirited eulogium by a learned commentator:

"Moses was in every respect a *great man;* for every virtue that constitutes genuine nobility was concentred in his mind, and fully displayed in his conduct. He ever conducted himself as a man conscious of his *own integrity,* and of the *guidance and protection of God,* under whose orders he constantly acted. He therefore betrays no *confusion* in his views, nor *indecision* in his measures—he was ever without *anxiety,* because he was conscious of the rectitude of his motives, and that the cause which he espoused was the cause of God; and that *his* power and faithfulness were pledged for his support. His *courage* and *fortitude* were unshaken and unconquerable, because his reliance was unremittingly fixed on the *unchangeableness of* JEHOVAH. He left Egypt *having an eye to the recompence of reward* in another world; and never lost sight of this grand object: he was therefore neither *discouraged* by *difficulties,* nor

(9) Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, ch. vii, p. 186.

elated by *prosperity:* He, who in Egypt refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, thereby renouncing the claim he might have had on the Egyptian throne, was never likely to be influenced by *secular* views in the government of the miserable *multitudes* which he led out of that country. His renunciation of the *court* of *Pharaoh* and its advantages, was the amplest proof that he neither sought nor expected honour or emolument in the *wilderness*, among a people who had scarcely any thing but what they received by immediate miracle from the hand of God."

"His WORKS, we may justly say, have been a kind of *text-book* to almost every writer on *geology, geography, chronology, astronomy, natural history, ethics, jurisprudence, political economy, theology, poetry,* and *criticism,* from his time to the present day. Books, to which the choicest writers and philosophers in Pagan antiquity, have been deeply indebted; and which were the text-books to all the *prophets*—books from which the flimsy writers against Divine Revelation have derived their natural religion and all their moral excellence:—books written in all the energy and purity of the incomparable language in which they are composed; and finally, books, which for importance of matter, variety of information, dignity of sentiment, accuracy of facts, impartiality, simplicity, and sublimity of narration, tending to improve and ennoble the intellect, and ameliorate the physical and moral condition of man, have never been equalled, and can only be paralleled by the GOSPEL of the Son of God!"[10]

The FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES, are probably found most perfect in what is called the *Samaritan Pentateuch,* from being written in that character. Several copies of it, have at different times been obtained at Nabolus and other places in the East, from the descendants of the Cuthites, and others who colonized Samaria, and

(10) Dr. Clarke's Commentary on Deuteronomy.

embraced the Mosaic Ritual, after the captivity and dispersion of the Ten Tribes. 2 Kings, xvii.

Eusebius and Jerom refer to the Samaritan Pentateuch; but from their time, no European appears to have seen it till the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Pietro Della Valle, during his travels, obtained not only a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch itself, but also a translation of it into the Samaritan language. The latter he took with him to Rome: the former he sent to Harlæus de Sancy, ambassador of France at Constantinople, and afterwards Bishop of St. Malo, who presented it in 1620 to the library of the Oratory at Paris. Johannes Morinus, a priest, and one of the Fathers of that religious house, gave a short account of this Pentateuch in the preface to his edition of the Septuagint, which was printed at Paris in 1628; and defended it also in another work published in 1631; and under his inspection the Samaritan Pentateuch, with its translation into the Samaritan language, was printed in the sixth volume of the Paris Polyglott, in 1632.[11]

The Samaritan Pentateuch was afterwards reprinted by Bishop Walton in the London Polyglott, and collated with other copies, procured from the East by Archbishop Usher, who expended considerable sums annually in the purchase of Manuscripts. The person principally employed by the Archbishop to purchase Oriental Manuscripts, was *Mr. Thomas Davis*, an English merchant at Aleppo; who, though not a learned man, exerted himself in the most handsome manner to fulfil the orders of his great correspondent, as the following extracts from his letters sufficiently prove.[12]

"The five Books of *Moses* in the *Samaritan* Character, I have found by meer accident, with the rest of the *Old*

(11) Marsh's Course of Lectures on Divinity, sec. 10. p. 86. sec. 9. p. 93. pt ii. Cambridge 1810.

(12) Parr's Life of Archbishop Usher, p. 35. Lond. 1686. fol.

Testament joyned with them; but the mischief is, there wants two or three leaves of the beginning of Genesis; and as many in the Psalms."

"I sent a messenger on purpose to Mount *Libanus* and *Tripoly*, for the Old Testament in the *Syriack* tongue, but he returned without it, and brought word that there I might have one after two months. The reason why they sent it not was, they wanted parchment to copy one of the books, and so not being perfect, did not send it. But I pray understand that by the *Syriack* tongue here they mean the *Caldean*. Therefore if your Lordship mean and desire to have the Old Testament in *Caldean*, I beseech you to write me, by the first over-land, that I may provide it by the next ship; and if your Lordship will have me send it at adventures, though it cost dear (as it will cost £10.) I will do my best endeavour to send it by the first conveyance. *Aleppo, Aug.* 29. 1624."

"I perceive that my Letter,—together with the *Five Books of Moses* in the *Samaritan* Character, came in safety to your hands, being very glad it proves so acceptable to your Lordship. However I find myself to have been abused by a Jew, who pretends to have knowledge in that tongue, affirming to me, that it contained all the Old Testament. How they read those books I have enquired, having no better means, of him, who I perceive knows no more, if so much, than their Alphabet; and to hear him read the first two verses of *Genesis*, I could not, because another of those books is not here to be had. The name of God, *Jehovah*, is pronounced by them, as saith he, YEHUEH. And the fift, eight, and sixteen of these Letters of their Alphabet are pronounced HEI, CHEI EI; the CH of the eight letter must be pronounced deep in the throat, CHEI."

"I sent to *Damascus* to see if I could procure the Grammer, Chronicles, and Calender which your Lordship desires, but could not obtain any of them, there being but one poor man of the *Samaritan* race left in Damas-

cus, who is not able to satisfy me in any thing you desire; only he said there were certain books in their language pawned to a great Spahee of that city, but what they contained the poor fellow knew not. The Spahee would not part with them under 200 Dollars, which is £60 *Sterling*: so I durst not venture upon them, being ignorant of their worth. *Aleppo, 16th of January*, 1625."

In 1670, the Rev. Robert Huntington, afterwards Bishop of Rapho, in Ireland, was appointed Chaplain to the English merchants at Aleppo, at the recommendation of the great Orientalist, Dr. Pocock. He sailed the same year for Smyrna, and from thence proceeded to Aleppo.

Among his friends and correspondents he numbered most of the learned Oriental Scholars of the age, who, on a variety of occasions, acknowledged their obligations to him for the valuable MSS. he procured for them, and the very great readiness he discovered to obtain satisfactory answers to their various inquiries. At his request Dr. Pocock translated the principal parts of the English Liturgy into Arabic. This work, as well as the Arabic translations of the *Catechism*, and of *Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion*, by the same author, and the *Turkish Catechism*, by Mr. Seaman, he was active in distributing amongst the Christians, and others in the Turkish dominions.[13]

During eleven years residence and travels in the East, he collected, and transmitted to England, many rare and curious Manuscripts. Among these were *three Greek MSS. of the Gospels*; one of which he had obtained at Cairo; another of them from a monastery in the Desart of Nitria; and the third at Jerusalem. These, with several other *Coptic* and *Arabico-Coptic MSS.* he sent to Dr. Thomas Marshall, the editor of the Anglo-Saxon, and Mœso-Gothic versions of the Gospels. In his own possession also, was a *Greek MS. of the Gospels*; and another of the *Acts*, the *Epistles of St. Paul*, the *Seven Catholic*,

(13) Twell's Life of Dr. Pocock, prefixed to Theological Works, I. *pas.*

or *General Epistles*, and the *Revelation*. Both these Manuscripts were afterwards collated by Dr. Mill, and supposed to be 500 years old.[14]

But Dr. Huntington is most generally known as the person who engaged the Samaritans at Sichem or Nablous, to send a copy of their Pentateuch, accompanied with a letter explanatory of their tenets and rites, to their *supposed* brethren in England. In this letter expressions were used which conveyed the idea of dissimulation having been practised by Dr. H. in order to obtain the Samaritan Pentateuch. "We give you notice," say they, "you that are our brethren, children of Israel, that R. Huntington, an uncircumcised man, is arrived here from Europe, and has acquainted us, that you are a great people, composed of men pure and holy like ourselves, and that you have sent him to desire of us a copy of the law; to whom we would not give credit, till he had written before us some characters of the holy language, in order to assure you that we have the same Mosaic religion that you profess, and if we had not been willing to oblige you, we should not have sent a copy of the law by the hands of the uncircumcised, for that is a reproach to us. Nevertheless we have committed it to him with two other little books, that we might not absolutely deny your request."[15]

This charge he repels, in a letter addressed to the celebrated Job Ludolf, in which he communicates so much information respecting the modern Samaritans, that I shall present the reader with an extract from it. It is dated the "last day of March," 1690.

"The Samaritans, or rather the remains of the Cuthites, are so few in number, that they are by far the smallest sect in these parts. Even in Sichem (now Neapolis or Nablous) the seat of the Prefect of that region; and the

(14) Huntingtoni Epistolæ, a T. Smith, p. 17.
Marsh's Michaelis, II. p. 1. cap. viii. pp. 267, 268.

(15) Fleury's Manners of the Israelites, edited by Adam Clarke, LL.D. pt. iv. ch. viii. pp. 356, 360. 8vo. 3rd edit. Lond. 1809.

richest emporium of Palestine, there are scarcely more than twenty families. Pietro Della Valle testifies, that formerly they flourished at Damascus, where they are now become extinct; and though they once inhabited Cairo in considerable numbers, as their letter to Scaliger proves, and their brethren at Sichem still boast of those who reside in Egypt, I could find only one poor old Samaritan and his wife living at Cairo."

"They have but one Synagogue, and that nothing more than a small, square, filthy, obscure chamber. In it are kept two copies of the Law, written on Parchment, and probably about 500 years old. They have also *a form of Prayer, the book of Joshua,* or rather a *Chronicle* under that name; not indeed that which has beeen praised by Scaliger, which I have never seen, but a brief one from the Creation of the world to the time of Mohammed, whom they call the *cursed.* This word, however, they write in the Samaritan character, that the believers in the Alcoran may not understand it. They also possess a shorter and larger Commentary on the Law. These are in Arabic ;—but in their quotations from the Law, andin writing the names of their High-Priests, they make use of the Samaritan characters."

"As to the very ancient Copy of the Law, of which they boast so much in all their epistles, as if it had been written by Abisha, the Son of Phineas, the Son of Eleazar, the Son of Aaron, the High-Priest, the report is altogether erroneous and false. For when I passed through Sichem the second time, I inquired strictly into it;—but when I had nearly finished unrolling the book, which they professed to be it, and which was one of those I have already mentioned as being kept in their Synagogue, they began to despair of supporting their assertion; but affirmed that those words had formerly existed in their copy, but had been erased by some sacrilegious unknown hand."

"It is true, as has been told you, that many of them are Secretaries to the Bashaw, or Collectors of the Customs; an office which they exercise in Joppa, and it is said at Gaza, similar to the Copts in Egypt, and the Jews in the other parts of the Ottoman empire. These are as well clothed as their circumstances will allow, especially the Chief Collector, Merchib ben Jacob."

"At the time I transacted the business of the tax usually demanded from the *Franks*,* but from which we were exempted by an order from the Vizier of Damascus, I made inquiries of Merchib ben Jacob, and four or five others who were present, respecting their nation, laws, rites, and customs. This solicitude on my part, led them in return to ask, whether any Hebrews resided in the country from which I came? I answered in the affirmative, believing them to mean *Jews*. They then handed me a piece of paper with Samaritan characters upon it; which, when I read, led them instantly to exclaim, "*Ah! doubtless they are our brethren!*" I assured them they were usually called Jews; but they still continued to affirm, "*They are indeed Israelites and Hebrews, and our dearest brethren!*" For they glory in appropriating to themselves the name of Israelites and Hebrews; hating the Jews, and even their very name, with the most inveterate hatred."

"It cannot therefore be said with truth, that I persuaded them that they had brethren living in England; for I expressly assured them to the contrary. But from their extreme desire to have it so, they were unwilling to believe me; neither could they conjecture how it was possible for me to have learnt the Samaritan letters, except from Samaritans themselves. In particular, I never told them that many of them lived among us, nor that they had sent me to Sichem for a copy of their Law. This, indeed, I told them, that in order to know who or what those

* A name which the Turks, Arabs, Greeks, &c. give to all the people of the western parts of Europe.

Hebrews were, of whom I had spoken, it would be well for them to write out a sufficiently ample history of their Religion, especially wherein they differed from the *Jews*; and at the same time to send them a copy of their Law; and in consequence of my speaking thus, one of them, who carried a copy suspended round his neck, took it out of his bosom, and presented it to me. It was written in small characters, and the writing in many places considerably faded."[16]

This Samaritan Pentateuch, was afterwards presented by the Rev. Mr. Huntington to Archbishop Marsh. It is Cod. 65 in Kennicott's Collection. The 33rd and 34th chapters of Deuteronomy are supplied in this Manuscript, which is in the duodecimo form, by Merchib ben Jacob before mentioned. It is also probable, that the letter sent by the Samaritans at Sichem, to their *supposed* brethren in England, is still preserved, since Dr. A. Clarke[17] informs us, that in the year 1790, he met with an epistle in Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's, Dublin, neatly written upon paper, in a very legible Samaritan character, directed "To the Congregation of the Children of Israel, the Samaritans, dwelling in the city England."

The latest account of the ancient Manuscript examined by Dr. Huntington, is in a letter from Mr. John Usgate, to Mr. Swinton, dated from *Acre*, and received at Oxford in August, 1734. In this letter Mr. Usgate tells him, that *he had been at Naplose, the preceding February*; that *several families of the Samaritans then resided there*; that *they had still their old MS. of the Pentateuch, some passages of which were so effaced as to be scarce legible*; and that *he had made proposals, and hoped soon to agree with them for the purchase of it; of which he would send Mr. Swinton notice.* No such notice was received; the purchase being probably prevented by the unfortunate

(16) Huntingtoni Epistolæ. Ep. XXXIII. pp. 47—50.
(17) Fleury's Manners of the Israelites, pt. 4, ch. 8. p. 363.

death of Mr. Usgate, who was afterwards cut to pieces by a party of Persians. So that this curious MS. seems to remain still at *Nablous*, or Naplose.[18] Some curious observations relative to the situation and practices of the Samaritans in the East, at so late a period as 1808, may be found in the Jewish Expositor, vol. I. published in 1816.

An edition of the *Hebræo-Samaritan Pentateuch*, with various readings, was published in the *Hebrew* character, in 1790, in an octavo volume, by the late Dr. Blayney, Hebrew Professor at Oxford.

There also exists an *Arabic* version of the Samaritan Pentateuch, written in the Samaritan character; but it has never been printed. Some critics have supposed that there was also another version of the Samaritan Pentateuch, in Greek; but as no copy of such a version can be found, the fact has been doubted.[19]

In some parts of the PENTATEUCH, *transpositions* appear to have taken place, by which the chronological order is interrupted; these have occasioned a discussion respecting the *Materials* upon which the Autograph of Moses, and the early transcripts of the Law were written. Father Simon, and Dr. A. Clarke suppose, that by being inscribed upon leaves, or portions of bark or papyrus, the facts or transactions which were entered upon them, were very liable to be deranged, especially as the separate pieces of Oriental writing, are not paged like our printed books, nor have any catch-words or signatures to connect the series.[20] But Dr. Kennicott conjectures, that many of the first manuscripts were upon Skins sewed together; and that these transpositions were occasioned by the skins being separated from each other, and afterwards misplaced; and adduces a singular instance of the kind, in a roll pre-

(18) Kennicott's Dissert. 2. p. 541.
(19) Walton in Bib. Polyg. Proleg. XI. pp. 21, 22. Kennicott's Dissert. 2, pp. 540, 541.
(20) Simon. Hist. Crit. du V. T. L. i. ch. v. Clarke's Com. Numbers ix. 1.

served in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford.[21]

Mr. Whiston, and M. Toinard have attempted to prove similar transpositions in the New Testament, from the same cause; but have been successfully combated by the Rev. Jeremiah Jones, in his "Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel."(ch. xiv.)[22] The following *Remarks on the different substances upon which ancient Writings have been inscribed, and the various modes by which they have been engraved or written,* may serve not only to elucidate this subject, but to illustrate many parts of the Sacred Volumes.

The first Writing of which we have any certain knowledge, was, as already observed, that of the *Decalogue,* delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai. This was inscribed on TABLES or SLABS OF STONE; which were written or graven on both their sides; hence some Rabbins suppose that the letters were cut *through* the tables, so that they might be read on both sides, though on one side they would appear reversed. This could not have been done, if the letters were the same with those called *Hebrew* now in common use, because the *close* letters, such as ס *samech* and ם *final mem,* could not be cut through without falling out; but if this ancient character were the same with the Samaritan, this *thorough cutting* might have been quite practicable, as there is not one *close* letter in the whole Samaritan alphabet.[23]

On the entrance of the Israelites into the land of Canaan, the *Law* was commanded to be engraved on *stones,* that a genuine exemplar of it might be transmitted even to the latest generation. (Deut. xxvii. 1—8.) Some suppose, that the writing was to be in *relievo,* and that the spaces between the letters were filled up by the mortar or cement. "This," says Dr. A. Clarke, (comment. *in loc.*) "is quite a

(21) Kennicott's Disser. II. pp 342, 571.

(22) Jones' New and Full method of settling the Canonical Authority of the N. T. III. Oxford, 1798.

(23) Clarke's (Dr. A.) Commentary on Exodus xxxii. 15.

possible case, as the Eastern inscriptions are frequently done in this way. There now is before me, a large slab of Basaltes, two feet long, by sixteen inches wide, on which there is an inscription in Persian, Arabic, and Tamool: in the two former, the letters are all raised, the surface of the stone being *dug out;* but the Tamool is indented; a kind of reddish paint had been smeared over the letters, to make them more apparent. Two Arabic marbles in the University of Oxford have the inscriptions in *relievo*, like those on the slab of basalt in my possession." We also find in some burial grounds grave stones thus cut in *relievo*. There is one of this kind on the north-side of the church yard at *Northwich* in *Cheshire*. Michaelis, however, objects to this opinion, and maintains that the Law was engraved on these stones *en creux*, or cut into the stones themselves; but his observations are so novel and ingenious, that I shall give them in his own words:—"Moses," says he, "commanded that the stones should be coated over with lime; but this command would have been quite absurd, had his meaning only been, that the laws should be cut through this coating; for after this unnecessary trouble, they could by no means have been thus perpetuated with such certainty, nor have nearly so long resisted the effects of wind and weather, as if at once engraven in the stones themselves. Kennicott, in his *Second Dissertation on the printed Hebrew Text*, p. 77. supposes that they might have been cut out in black marble, with the letters raised, and the hollow intervals, between the black letters, filled up with a body of white lime, to render them more distinct and conspicuous. But even this would not have been a good plan for eternizing them; because lime cannot long withstand the weather, and whenever it began to fall off in any particular place, the raised characters would, by a variety of accidents, to which writing deeply engraved is not liable, soon be injured, and become illegible. No one

that wishes to write any thing in stone, that shall descend to the most remote periods of time, will ever think of giving a preference to characters thus in relief. And, besides, Moses, if this was his meaning, has expressed himself very indistinctly; for he says not a word of the colour of stone, on which, however, the whole idea turns."

"I rather suppose, therefore, that Moses acted in this matter, with the same view to future ages, as is related of Sostratus, the architect of the Pharos, who, while he cut the name of the then King of Egypt, in the outer coat of lime, took care to engrave his own name secretly in the stone below, in order that it might come to light in after times, when the plaster with the King's name, should have fallen off. In like manner, Moses, in my opinion, commanded that his laws should be cut in the stones themselves, and these coated with a thick crust of lime, that the engraving might continue for many ages secure from all the injuries of the weather and atmosphere; and then, when by the decay of its covering it should, after hundreds or thousands of years, first come to light, serve to show to the latest posterity whether they had suffered any change. It is by no means impossible that these stones, if again discovered, might be found still to contain the whole engraved perfectly legible. Probably, however, this discovery, highly desirable though it would be, both to literature and religion, being in the present state of things, and particularly of the Mosaic law, now so long abrogated, not indispensably necessary, is reserved for some future age of the world."[24]

Similar practices were afterwards adopted by other nations; and hard substances, such as stones and metals, were generally made use of for edicts, and matters of public notoriety: hence the celebrated *Laws of the Twelve Tables* among the Romans, were so called from being written or

(24) Michaelis' Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, translated by Alex. Smith, D. D. I. pp. 556—558. Lond. 1814. 8vo.

engraved on *twelve* slabs, or tablets of brass, or ivory, or oak; and hung up for public inspection. The laws penal, civil, and ceremonial, among the Greeks, were engraven on triangular tables of brass, which were called *Cyrbes*. Trithemius asserts, that the public monuments of France were anciently inscribed on *silver*.[25] The Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, in 1807, found the Jews in India, in possession of several tablets of brass, containing grants of privileges made to their ancestors.[26] In the *Asiatic Researches*, particularly in vol. IX. art. 10. various notices may be found of ancient grants and inscriptions upon tablets or plates of brass: Gibbon also (Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. vol. VIII. ch. xliv. pp. 5, 6.) remarks, that in the year 1444, seven or eight tables of *brass* were dug up between Cortona and Gubio; part of them inscribed with the Etruscan character; the rest representing the primitive state of the Pelasgic letters and language. And Capt. Percival relates, that when Raja Singa, King of Candy, sent an embassy to the Dutch governor of Pulicat in 1636, the letter with which the ambassador was charged, was written in Arabic, on tablets of *gold*. Montfaucon (Journey through Italy, p. 287) says, that in the palace of *Strozzi* at Rome, he saw a book made of *marble*, the leaves of which were cut to a wonderful thinness, so that turning them over, you might see all the several kinds of marble. The ancient Chaldeans stamped or engraved their astronomical observations upon *bricks*; and within a few years, considerable quantities of such bricks have been dug up in the vicinity of Hilleh, the real or supposed site of the ancient Babel. Several *fac-similes* of the inscriptions on these bricks, are given in the *Classical Journal*, no. V. p. 127. Diogenes Laertius tells us concerning the Greek Philosopher, Cleanthes, that "being poor, and wanting money to buy paper, he was accustom-

(25) Hugo, De prima Scrib. Orig. p. 87.
(26) Percival's Account of Ceylon, ch. i. p. 3.

ed to write the lectures and discourses of his master Zeno, on small *shells*, or bones of oxen. The Koran of Mohamed was recorded at first, by his disciples, on palm-leaves, and the shoulder-bones of mutton; and kept in a domestic chest, by one of his wives. (Gibbon, Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp. vol. IX. ch. l. p. 268.)

According to Pliny, (Lib. ix. ch. xi.) one of the most ancient methods of writing was, upon the *Leaves of the Palm Tree*, and afterwards, upon the *inner Bark of Trees*. This mode of writing is still common in the East. In Tanjore and other parts of India, the Palmyra-leaf is used, on which they engrave with an iron style or pen; and so expert are the natives, that they can write fluently, what is spoken deliberately. They do not look much at their *Ollas*, or leaves, while writing, the fibre of the leaf serving to guide the pen. The aptitude of the Christian Hindoos, to copy the sermons they hear, is particularly noticed by the Rev. Dr. C. Buchanan, in his *Christian Researches*, p. 66. where he observes, that "whilst the Rev. Dr. John delivered an animated discourse in the Tamul tongue, many persons had their Ollas in their hands, writing the sermon in Tamul short-hand." Dr. Francis Buchanan, in a valuable essay "On the Religion and Literature of the Burmas," informs us, that "in their more elegant books, the Burmas write on sheets of ivory, or on very fine white palmyra leaves. The ivory is stained black, and the margins are ornamented with gilding, while the characters are enamelled or gilded. On the palmyra leaves the characters are in general of black enamel; and the ends of the leaves and margins, are painted with flowers in various bright colours. In their more common books, the Burmas, with an iron style, engrave their writing on palmyra leaves. A hole through both ends of each leaf, serves to connect the whole into a volume, by means of two strings, which also pass through the two wooden boards, that serve for binding. In the finer binding of these kinds of books, the

boards are lacquered, the edges of the leaves cut smooth and gilded, and the title is written on the upper board; the two cords are, by a *knot* or *jewel*, secured at a little distance from the boards, so as to prevent the book from falling to pieces, but sufficiently distant to admit of the upper leaves being turned back, while the lower ones are read. The more elegant books are in general wrapped up in silk cloth, and bound round by a garter, in which the Burmas have the art to weave the title of the book."[27]

A beautifully written Indian manuscript now lies before me. The characters are minute and neatly executed. They have been written or engraved so as to enter into the substance of the leaf. The ink is black. The whole is composed of seven distinct portions of leaf, each portion being $16\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in breadth, the lines running parallel to each other from end to end of the leaf. Two holes are made in each leaf about six inches asunder. A string passed through the holes at each end secures the whole; but the leaves being written on both sides must be untied before they can be read.

The Ceylonese sometimes make use of the palm-leaf, and sometimes of a kind of paper, made of bark, but most generally employ the leaf of the Talipot-tree. From these leaves, which are of immense size, they cut out slips, from a foot to a foot and a half long, and about a couple of inches broad. These slips are smoothed, and all excrescences pared off with a knife, and are then, without any other preparation, ready to be used. A fine pointed steel pencil, like a bodkin, and set in a wooden or ivory handle, is employed to write or rather to engrave their letters, on these talipot slips, which are very thick and tough; and in order to render the writing distinct and permanent, they rub them over with oil mixed with pulverized charcoal. They afterwards string several slips together, by a piece of twine passed through them, and attach them to a board in the

(27) Asiatic Researches, VI. p. 306. Lond. 8vo.

same way as we file newspapers. In those letters or dispatches which were sent by the King of Candy to the Dutch Government, the writing was inclosed in leaves of beaten gold, in the shape of a cocoa-tree leaf. This was rolled up in a cover richly ornamented, and almost hid in a profusion of pearls and other precious stones. The whole was inclosed in a box of silver or ivory, which was sealed with the King's great seal.[28]

Diodorus Siculus (Lib. ii. p. 84.) affirms, that the Persians of old wrote all their records on SKINS; and Herodotus, who flourished more than five hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, informs us, (Lib. v.) that sheep skins and goat skins were made use of in writing by the ancient Ionians. Mr. Yeates even thinks it exceedingly probable that the very Autograph of the Law, written by the hand of Moses, was upon prepared skins.[29]* In Exodus, xxvi. 14. we read that *Rams' Skins, dyed red,* made part of the covering for the tabernacle; and it is a singular circumstance, that in the year 1806, Dr. Claudius Buchanan obtained from one of the synagogues of the Black Jews,* in the interior of Malayala in India, a very ancient manuscript roll, containing the major part of the Hebrew Scriptures, written upon *Goats' Skins,* mostly *dyed red;* and the Cabul Jews, who travel annually into the interior of China, remarked, that *in some synagogues the Law is still found written on a roll of leather; not on vellum, but on a soft flexible leather, made of Goats' Skins, and dyed red.* Of the *six Synagogue-copies of the Pentateuch* in Rolls, which are all at present known in England, exclusive of those in the possession of the Jews, five are upon *skins* or *leather,* and the other upon vellum. One of these is in the Collegiate Library at Manchester, and has never

(28) Percival's Account of Ceylon, ch. viii. pp. 205, 206.

(29) Yeates's Collation of an Indian Copy of the Heb. Pen. p. 2. 4to. 1812.

* The *Black Jews* are those who have been settled in India from time immemorial, and assimilated in colour to the Hindoos. The *White Jews* are of later settlement. (See Buchanan's "Christian Researches.")

been collated. It is written upon *Basil*, or *brown African skins*, and measures in length 106 feet, and is about 20 inches in breadth. The letters are black and well preserved, and the whole text is without points, accents, or marginal additions.[30]

The *skins of fishes* were also sometimes employed for writing upon; and Zonoras (Annal. Lib. iii.) relates, that the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer were written upon the *intestines of a serpent*, in characters of gold, forming a roll 100 feet in length. This singular work is said to have been consumed in the dreadful fire which happened at Constantinople, in the fifth century, and destroyed nearly the whole city, together with the Library, containing 20,000 volumes.[31]

From Job xix. 24. it appears to have been usual in his day, to write or engrave upon Plates of LEAD, which might easily be done with a *Pen*, or *Graver*, or *Style of Iron*, or other hard metal. Montfaucon (Antiq. Expliquée, tom. II. p. 378.) assures us, that in 1699, he bought at Rome, a book entirely of lead, about 4 inches long, by 3 inches wide. Not only the two pieces which formed the cover, but also all the leaves, in number six, the stick inserted into the rings, which held the leaves together, the hinges, and the nails, were all of lead, without exception. It contained Egyptian Gnostic figures, and unintelligible writing.[32]

The *Works and Days* of Hesiod, are also said to have been inscribed on *a leaden table*, carefully preserved in the Temple of the Muses, which when shewn to Pausanias was almost entirely corroded, through age. According to Pliny the public documents were written in leaden volumes, after the use of the Pugillares, or Wooden Tablets, had been laid aside. Thin plates of lead, reduced to a very great degree of tenuity by the mallet, were occasionally

(30) See Yeates's Collation, p. 11.
(31) Mabillon De Re. Diplomat. L. 1. p. 31.
(32) Fragments, by the Editor of Calmet's Dict. No. 74.

used, particularly for epistolary correspondence. Æneas Poliorceticus tells us, that they were beaten with a hammer, until they were rendered very thin and pliable; that they were sometimes sewed up between the soles of the shoes; that even the messenger who carried them, was ignorant of the circumstance; and that while he slept, the correspondent to whom they were addressed unsewed the shoes, read the letters, replaced others, and thus carried on a secret intercourse without suspicion.[33]

It was also an ancient practice, to write upon thin smooth planks or *Tables of Wood.* Pliny says that table-books of wood were in use before the time of Homer. The Chinese, before the invention of paper, engraved with an iron tool upon thin boards, or upon bamboo; and in the Sloanian Library at Oxford, are six specimens of *Kufic* or ancient Arabic writing, on boards about 2 feet in length, and 6 inches in depth.[34]

The original manner of writing among the ancient *Britons*, was by cutting the letters with a knife upon sticks, which were most commonly squared, and sometimes formed into three sides; consequently a single stick contained either four or three lines. (See Ezek. xxxvii. 16.) Several sticks, with writing upon them, were put together, forming a kind of frame, which was called Peithynen or Elucidator, and was so constructed, that each stick might be turned for the facility of reading, the end of each running out alternately on both sides of the frame.[35] A continuation of this mode of writing may be found in the *Runic,* or Log Almanacks of the Northern States of Europe, in which the engraving on square pieces of wood, has been continued to the present time. A late writer informs us, the Boors of Œsel, an island of the Baltic Sea, at the entrance of the Gulf of Livonia, continue the practice of

(33) Drummond's Herculanensia, Diss. 7. pp. 99, 100. Lond. 4to. 1810.
(34) Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, ch. viii. p. 201.
(35) Davies' Celtic Researches, p. 271. Fry's Pantographia, pp. 304, 307. See Frontispiece, fig. 1.

making these rude calendars for themselves; and that they are in use likewise in the isles of Ruhn and Mohn.[36] Two curious specimens of the Runic Almanacks, are in the Collegiate Library at Manchester.

Bishop Nicolson, in his *English Historical Library*, (2nd edit. fol. pt. i. p. 52.) remarks—"The *Danes* (as all other antient people of the world) registered their more considerable transactions upon Rocks, or on parts of them, hewn into various shapes and figures. On these they engraved such inscriptions as were proper for their Heathen altars, triumphal arches, sepulchral monuments, and genealogical histories of their ancestors. Their writings of less concern, (as letters, almanacks, &c.) were engraven upon Wood: and because *Beech* was most plentiful in Denmark, (though Fir and Oak be so in Norway and Sweden) and most commonly employed in these services, from the word *Bog*, which in their language is the name of that sort of wood, they and all other Northern nations, have the name of *Book*. The poorer sort used *Bark*; and the *Horns* of Rein Deer and Elks were often finely polished, and shaped into books of several leaves. Many of their old calendars are likewise upon *Bones* of Beasts and Fishes: but the inscriptions on Tapestry, Bells, Parchment, and Paper, are of later use."

A singular custom still prevails at Pamber, near Basingstoke, in Hampshire. The Court-leet holden annually for that manor, is opened *sub dio*, in a small piece of ground called Lady-Mead, which belongs to the tithingman for the year. Thence an adjournment is made to a neighbouring public house. The proceedings of the court are recorded on a *piece of wood*, called a *Tally*, about three feet long, and an inch and a half square, furnished every year by the steward. One of these singular records, was some time ago produced in evidence in a law-suit at Winchester.[37] The mode of keeping accounts by *Tallies*,

(36) Gent. Mag. LXXXII. pt. i. p. 625. where there is a fac simile of the Œsel Almanack. (37) Ibidem. LXXX. pt. i. p. 308.

or cleft pieces of wood, in which the notches are cut on one piece conformably to the other, one part being kept by the creditor, the other by the debtor, is still practised in many parts of England, in particular cases. A Tally continues to be given by the Exchequer, to those who pay money there upon loans; hence the origin of the *Teller*, or Tally-writer of the Exchequer; and also of the phrase *to tally*, to fit, to suit, or answer exactly.

The *Scythians* also conveyed their ideas, by marking, or cutting, certain figures and a variety of lines, upon splinters or billets of wood; and amongst the *Lacedemonians*, the *Scytale Laconica*, was a little round staff, which they made use of to write their secret letters. In the Apocrypha, (2 Esdras, xiv. 24. 37. 44.) we read of a considerable number, i. e. 204 books being made of *Box-wood*, and written upon in the open field by certain swift writers. *Aulus Gellius* (Lib. ii. ch. xii.) says that the ancient laws of Solon, preserved at Athens, were cut in tablets of wood, and denominated *Axones*. These were quadrangular, and so contrived as to turn on axes, and to present their contents on all sides to the eyes of the passengers. The laws on these wooden tables, as well as those on stone, were inscribed after the manner called *Boustrophedon*, that is, the first line beginning from right to left, or from left to right, and the second in an opposite direction, as ploughmen trace their furrows; as in the following words, copied from an inscription on a Marble, in the National Museum at Paris.

ΝΕΚΕΘΕΝΑΜ ΣΟΛΑΥ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΙΔΕΣ ΝΟΕΣΕΝ

(em decalp sullyH"
Aristocydes made me."

A somewhat similar mode of writing obtained among the ancient Irish, by whom it was denominated *Cionn fa eite*.

The Boustrophedon writing is said to have been disused by the Greeks, about four hundred and fifty-seven years before the Christian era, but was in use among the Irish at a much later period.[38]

It is highly probable also, that several of the Prophets wrote upon Tablets of *Wood*, or some similar substance. (See Isaiah xxx. 8. Habakkuk ii. 2.) Zecharias, the father of John the Baptist, when required to name his son, "asked for a Writing-Table, and wrote, saying his name is John." (Luke i. 63.) These Table-books, the Romans denominated *Pugillares*. Smaller tablets were also frequently in use, made of wood cut into thin slices, and finely planed and polished.[39] In the year 485, during the reign of the Emperor Zeno, the remains of St. Barnabas are said to have been found near Salamis, with *a Copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew*, laid upon his breast, written with his own hand, upon leaves of Thyine-wood, a kind of wood particularly odoriferous and valuable. (Suid. Lex. v. Θυινα) Tablets of this kind were generally covered with wax, sometimes also with chalk, or plaster; and written upon with styles or bodkins. In epistolary correspondence, they were tied together with thread, and the seal put upon the knot. These tablets, when collected and fastened together, composed a book, called *Codex* or *Caudex*, i. e. a trunk, from its resemblance to the trunk of a tree, sawed into planks; but when they consisted of only *two* leaves, they were termed *libri diptychi*.

Waxen Tablets continued to be occasionally used till a very late period. *Du Cange* cites the following lines from a French Metrical Romance, written about A. D. 1376.[40]

Les uns se prennent à ecrire,
Des grefles en tables de cire;

(38) Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, ch. v. p. 68.
Vallancey's Antiquity of the Irish Language, p. 55. Dublin. 1772. 8vo.
(39) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, I. pp. 35—38.
Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing. ch. 8. p. 200.
(40) Du Cange, v. *Graphium*.

Les autres suivent la coustume
De former lettres à la plume.

Some with the antiquated style,
On waxen-tablets promptly write;
Others, with finer pen, the while
Form letters lovelier to the sight.

There are many ample and authentic records of the Royal Household of France, of the 13th and 14th centuries, still preserved, written on *waxen tablets.* In the Religious Houses in France, they were constantly kept for temporary notation; and for registering the Capitular Acts of the Monasteries. Specimens of Wooden Tables filled up with wax, and constructed in the fourteenth century, were formerly preserved in several of the monastic libraries. Some of these contained the household expences of the Sovereigns, &c. and consisted of as many as twenty pages, formed into a book by means of parchment bands glued to the backs of the leaves. One remaining in the Abbey of St. Germaine des-prez at Paris, recorded the expences of Philip le Bel, during a journey that he made in the year 1307, on a visit to Pope Clement V; a single leaf of this Table Book is exhibited in the *Nouveau traité de diplomatique, tom i. p.* 468. Amongst the monks of St. Victor of Paris, where the rule of silence was rigorously observed, certain signs were enjoined to prevent the necessity of speaking; Du Cange (v. *Signa)* notices many of them, and among others, those by which they asked for the Style and Tablet. In an accompt-roll of Winchester college for the year 1395, there is an article of disbursement, for a tablet covered with *green wax,* to be kept in the Chapel for noting down with a style, the respective courses of duty alternately assigned to the officers of the choir. Shakespear alludes to this mode of writing, in his "Timon of Athens;"

———"My free drift
Halts not particularly, but moves itself
In *a wide sea of wax.*"

Even so late as A. D. 1718, several of the Collegiate bodies in France, especially the Chapter of the Cathedral

of Rouen, retained these tablets, for the purpose of marking the successive rotation of the Ministers of the Choir.

Tables, or Table-Books, were sometimes made of *Slate*, in the form of a small portable book with leaves and clasps. Such a one is engraved in Gesner's treatise *De rerum fossilium figuris*, &c. Tigur. 1565, 12mo. and copied by Douce in his *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, vol. II. p. 227. The learned author thus describes it: "Pugillaris é laminis saxi nigri fissilis, cum stylo ex eodem. A Table-Book made of thin plates of black stone, with a style of the same material."[41]

By a law among the Romans, the edicts of the Senate were directed to be written on tablets of *Ivory*, thence denominated *Libri Elephantini*. And Pliny (Lib. viii. ch. iii.) says, that from want of the *teeth* of the Elephant, which are alone of ivory, they had lately begun to saw the *bones* of that animal.[42]

Dr. Shaw (*Travels*, p. 194.) informs us, that in Barbary the children who are sent to school write on a smooth thin board, slightly daubed over with whiting, which may be wiped off or renewed at pleasure, and thus learn to read, to write, and get their lessons by heart, all at the same time. The Copts, who are employed by the great men of Egypt in keeping their accounts, &c. make use of a sort of pasteboard for that purpose, from which the writing is occasionally wiped off with a wet sponge.[43] References to a similar mode of writing are frequent in Scripture, see particularly Numbers, v. 23. Nehemiah, xiii. 14. *et al.* In India it has been the practice from time immemorial to teach children to read by writing in sand; and from thence are derived some parts of the present Madras and Lancas-

(41) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, III. p. 151, note (k.)
Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, II. pp. 227—229.
(42) Drummond's Herculanensia, p. 105.
Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, *ubi sup.*
(43) Harmer's Observations, by Dr. A. Clarke, III. p. 127.

terian systems of instruction, practised by the Rev. Dr. Bell, and Mr. Lancaster.

The old Egyptians used to write on *Linen* things which they designed should last. There is a piece of writing of this kind now in the British Museum, which was taken out of an Egyptian mummy; and a similar book was found in a mummy by Mr. Denon, an engraved *fac simile* of which may be found in his travels.[44] Livy (Lib. iv. ch. vii.) makes mention of Linen-Books, as containing information not to be found in public documents. We find also from Vopiscus, that the Emperor Aurelian wrote his journal or diary in Linen-Books.[45] Suidas (Lex. v. Πεπλος.) reports, that at Athens, they wrote upon the *Peplus*, or robe of Minerva, the names of their chief warriors. Silk also was frequently made use of in works of value. In the Harleian Library, in the British Museum, there is a very valuable Greek MS. of the *Geoponics*, written on *silken leaves*, towards the close of the twelfth century. Montfaucon mentions many works written on silk, which are preserved in different libraries in Italy, executed chiefly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the Chigian Library, at Rome, there is a MS. on silk, containing all the Prophets, with some things struck out; and asterisks or stars, and some Hexapla readings, that is, of the six different translations, in the margin. In the library of St. Mary, at Florence, is the *whole New Testament* on silk, with the Liturgy, and short Martyrology: at the end of it there is written in Greek, "*By the hand of the Sinner and most unworthy* Mark; *in the year of the World* 6840, (that is, of CHRIST 1332) Monday, December *the* 22*nd*." and on the next page are several Greek alphabets.[46] In the South of India, they have a kind of book, called *Cudduttum*, or *Curruttum*. It is thus composed; a slip of cotton-cloth, from 8 inches to 1 foot in

(44) Clarke's Harmer's Observations, III. p. 132.
(45) Herculanensia, p. 107.
(46) Montfaucon's Travels through Italy, ch. xvii. p. 272; ch. xxv. p. 412.

breadth, and from 12 to 18 feet in length, is skilfully covered with a compost of paste and powdered charcoal, which when completely dried, is divided into equal parts by folding. To the two end-folds are fixed ornamented plates of wood, painted and varnished, resembling the sides of a book. It opens at either side, and when unfolded, draws out to the full length; and is preserved by being kept in a case of silk, or cotton; or else by being tied with a tape, or ribband. The writing on it may be compared to that done on a slate, as the marks made by the pencil, may be rubbed out, and renewed at pleasure.[47]

The *Bark of trees*, is another material which has been employed in every age and quarter of the globe; and was called *Xylochartion* by the Greeks. Before the use of the Papyrus became general, the *Bark of the Philyra*, a species of the Linden tree, was frequently made use of for writing upon; and books written on it existed in the third century. The *Bark of Oak*, was also used for the same purpose. Hence the Latins called a book, *Liber*, which signifies the *inner bark* of a tree; and the Greeks used the word φλοιος (Phloios) which also means *bark*.[48]

The use of bark for this purpose, still prevails in some parts of Asia; thus the sacred books of the Burmans are sometimes composed of thin stripes of bamboo, delicately plaited, and varnished over in such a manner as to form a smooth and hard surface upon a leaf of any dimensions: this surface is afterwards gilt, and the sacred letters are traced upon it in black and shining japan; the margin is illuminated by wreaths and figures of gold on a red, green, or black ground.[49] The Battas also, one of the nations who inhabit the island of Sumatra, form their books of the inner bark of a certain tree; one of which, in the Batta character, is in the Sloanian Library, (No. 4726) written in per-

(47) Gentleman's Magazine, LXXXI. pt. i. p. 147.
(48) Herculanensia, p. 106.
(49) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, I. p. 42,

pendicular columns, on a long piece of bark, folded up so as to represent a book.[50]

Of the several kinds of PAPER, used at different periods, and manufactured from various materials, the *Egyptian* is unquestionably the most ancient. The exact date of its discovery is unknown; and even the place where it was first made is matter of dispute. According to Isidore, it was first made at Memphis; and according to others in Seide, or Upper Egypt. It was manufactured from the inner films of the *Papyrus* or *Biblos*, a sort of flag, or bulrush, growing in the marshes of Egypt.* The outer skin being taken off, there are next, several films or inner skins, one within another. These, when separated from the stalk, were laid on a table, and moistened with the glutinous waters of the Nile. They were afterwards pressed together, and dried in the sun. From this papyrus it is, that what we now make use of to write upon, hath also the name of *papyr* or paper; though of quite another nature from the ancient *papyrus*. Bruce, the well-known Abyssinian Traveller, had in his possession, a large and very perfect manuscript on papyrus, which had been dug up at Thebes, and which he believed to be the only perfect one known: "The boards," or covers for binding the leaves, "are," says he, "of Papyrus root, covered first with the coarse pieces of the paper; and then with leather, in the same manner as it would be done now. It is a book one would call a small folio, rather than by any other name. The letters are strong, deep, black, and apparently written with a reed, as is practised by the Egyptians and Abyssinians still. It is written on both sides. I gave Dr. Woide leave to translate it, at Lord North's request: it is a Gnostic book, full of their dreams."[51] The form of the book, in Mr. Bruce's possession, appears to be different from that in general use among the ancient Egyptians, for

(50) Horne's Introduction &c. *ubi sup.* * See Frontispiece.
(51) Bruce's Travels, VII p. 117, *et seq.* 8vo. edit.

Pliny (Lib. xiii. ch. xxiii.) affirms, that the books made of Papyrus were usually *rolled up*; and that every such roll consisted of an indefinite number of sheets, which were fastened together by glue, care being taken always to place the best sheet of Papyrus first, that which was next in superiority second, and so in gradation to the last, which was the worst sheet in the roll. This practice is confirmed by an ancient Egyptian MS. taken from a Mummy at Thebes, and preserved in the British Museum, which, before it was expanded in the manner in which it is now seen, was closely rolled up; and which, if held up to the light, will be perceived to have the first sheet composed of a much finer piece of Papyrus, than any of the succeeding sheets. Manuscripts of this kind, are by far the most ancient manuscripts which have reached our times. The few which have been found, have been observed to lie close to the embalmed figure, underneath the resin and bandages, which have been employed to envelope the body. The mummies of distinguished persons, are said to be seldom without one of these rolls; and no mummy has been known to contain more than two.[52]

Many manuscripts written upon Papyrus, have been found in the ruins of Herculaneum, which was destroyed by an eruption of Vesuvius, A. D. 79. The manuscripts thus obtained, are completely calcined, though by incredible labour and patience, fragments of some of them have been unrolled and copied.

Paper made of *Bark*, is said to have been anciently used for the Imperial Protocols, in order to render the forging of false diplomas more difficult. Montfaucon notices a diploma, or charter, written on bark, in the *Longobardic* character, about the beginning of the eighth century, preserved in the library of Antony Capello, a Senator of Florence. It is a Judgment given at *Reate*, about Guardianship. The parties contending are either *Goths*, or as

(52) Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature, I. pp. 51—57. Lond. 1807, 8vo.

is more likely, *Lombards;* the judges are *Romans.* It is remarkable, that the date was originally inserted in it; but has been defaced by a mouse gnawing it, as it lay rolled up: it is, however, one of the first charters in which the Christian computation has been used.[53] The Chinese generally make their paper from the bark of the Bamboo, and other trees; but occasionally manufacture it from other substances, as hemp, wheat, or rice straw, the cocoons of silk-worms, and even *old paper.* The Rev. Robert Morrison, an English Protestant missionary in China, sent out by the London Missionary Society in 1810, has translated into the Chinese language, several portions of the Old and New Testament, some of which, beautifully printed on paper of Chinese manufacture, have been transmitted to England.

The Japanese make an exceedingly strong paper from the *Morus papyrifera sativa,* or true paper-tree, by the Japanese called *Kaadsit.* Several other eastern nations employ bark also, in the manufacture of paper.

A kind of paper has also been lately made of the *shavings of Leather.* A sheet of it now lies before me, of a reddish yellow, or orange colour; it is exceedingly tough, and will bear ink, but is rather greasy to the pen.

According to Montfaucon, *Charta Bombycina* or *Cotton-Paper,* was discovered towards the end of the ninth, or early in the tenth century. Casiri states paper to have been first manufactured in Bucharia; and that the Arabs ascribe its invention to Joseph Amru, in the year of the Hegira 88, of Christ 706. Other learned men have thought, that we are indebted for it to the Chinese, from whom it passed successively to the Indians, Persians, and Arabs; and by the latter was communicated to the western nations. The manufacture of cotton-paper, is said to be still carried on to a considerable extent in the Levant.[54]

(53) Montfaucon's Travels through Italy, ch. iv. p. 84.

(54) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, *ubi sup.*
Casiri, Biblioth. Arabico-Hispana, tom. II. p. 9. Madrit. 1760, 70. fol

Paper, fabricated from *Linen Rags*, is now used throughout Europe, and almost every part of the world whither Europeans have penetrated; and is a much more valuable material for writing upon, than the *cotton*-paper. We are ignorant both of the inventor, and of the date of this important discovery. Dr. Prideaux delivers it as his opinion, that *Linen-Paper* was brought from the East, because many of the Oriental manuscripts are written upon it. Mabillon believes its invention to have been in the twelfth century. One of the earliest specimens of paper from linen rags, which has yet been discovered, is that in the possession of Pestel, Professor in the University of Rinteln, in Germany. It is a document, with the seal preserved, dated A. D. 1239; and signed by Adolphus, Count of Schaumburg.[55] But Casiri positively affirms, that there are many MSS. in the Escurial, both upon cotton and linen-paper, written prior to the thirteenth century. This invention appears to have been very early introduced into England; for Dr. Prideaux assures us, he had seen a register of some acts of John Cranden, Prior of Ely, made on linen-paper, which bears date in the fourteenth year of King Edward II. A. D. 1320; and in the Cottonian Library are said to be several writings on this kind of paper, as early as the year 1335. The *first* Paper-Mill erected in this kingdom, is said to have been at Dartford, in 1588, by M. Spilman, a German.[56] Shakspeare, however, refers it to the reign of Henry VI. and makes Jack Cade (Henry VI. pt. ii.) say, in accusation of Lord Sands: "Whereas, before, our forefathers had no other *books* but the *Score* and the *Tally*, thou hast caused *Printing* to be used, and contrary to the King, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a *Paper-Mill*." During the same reign, the head of the Duke of York, with a *Paper Crown* upon it, was placed on the walls of the city of York.

(55) Peignot, Essai sur Parchemin, p. 55, note. Casiri, *ubi sup.*
(56) Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, ch. viii. p. 206.

But, although Paper made from linen rags, is preferable to most other materials for writing upon, it is, nevertheless, inferior to *Parchment* or *Vellum*.

PARCHMENT is usually made of the skins of sheep and goats: VELLUM, which is a finer kind of Parchment, is made of the skins of abortive, or at least of sucking calves. The invention has been generally attributed to Eumenes, King of Pergamus;* there is, however, reason to believe, that Parchment was in use long before his reign. Josephus (Antiq. lib. xii. ch. ii.) states, that the Copy of the Law, presented by the Seventy Elders to Ptolemy Philadelphus, about 277 years before Christ, was written upon Parchment or Vellum; and excited the astonishment of the King, by the extraordinary fineness of the parchment, as well as by the artful manner in which the different skins were sewed together, and the exquisite execution of the writing, in letters of gold. The most probable opinion, therefore, is, that Eumenes, son of Attalus I. King of Pergamus, though not the inventor, introduced parchment into more general use, at the time when Ptolemy Epiphanes, from a wish to prevent the rivalry of other princes in amassing books, and forming extensive libraries, prohibited the exportation of the Papyrus, or Egyptian paper.[57]

From the city of *Pergamus*, parchment received the name of *Pergamenum*, and *Charta Pergamena*, as it did that of *Membrana*, from being made of the skins of animals. The term *Parchment*, is a corruption of the word *Pergamenum*. *Vellum* is derived from the Latin *Vitulus*, a calf.

A coarse kind of parchment or vellum, has been fabricated also from the *Skins of Asses*. A late traveller informs us, that in the Royal Library in Sweden, "there are two enormous Latin MSS. the vellum leaves of which

* Pergamus, now *Bergamo*, was the capital of the kingdom of that name in Asia Minor. This city is mentioned in the Revelation of St. John ii. 11. It was the birth-place of Galen.

(57) Peignot, Essai sur Parchmin, pp. 27—33, 41, 42.

are made of *Asses' Skins*, and are of an amazing size."[58]

The Manuscripts written on Parchment or Vellum, were sometimes so large, as to be obliged to be carried on the shoulder. Melchior Adam relates, that Paul Pfedersheimer, a converted Jew, having lent an Hebrew MS. of the Prophets, accompanied with the Massorah, to Conrad Pellican, then a youth, and indefatigably industrious to acquire a knowledge of the Hebrew tongue; Paul Scriptor, the tutor of Pellican, who was travelling with him, assisted him on his journey, by carrying the huge manuscript, which had the appearance of an entire calf-skin, upon his shoulder, like a porter, from Mentz to Pfortzheim, and from thence to Tubingen.[59]

Table-books, as they were called, made of *Asses' Skins*, or some similar substance, were common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mr. Southey, in his "Omniana," has given a curious description of one of them. "It is a little book," says he, "nearly square, being three inches wide, and something less than four in length, bound stoutly in calf, and fastening with four strings of broad, strong, brown tape. The title as follows: "Writing Tables, with a Kalendar for xxiiii. yeeres, with sundrie necessarie rules. The tables made by Robert Triplet. London. Imprinted for the Company of Stationers." The tables are inserted immediately after the almanack. At first sight they appear like what we call *asses' skin*, the colour being precisely the same, but the leaves are thicker; whatever smell they may have had is lost, and there is no gloss upon them. It might be supposed that the gloss had been worn off, but this is not the case, for most of the tables have never been written on. Some of the edges being worn, show that the middle of the leaf consists of paper; the composition is laid on with great nicety. A silver style was used, which

(58) Carr's (Sir John) Travels round the Baltic, p. 130, 4to.
(59) M. Adami Vit. Germ. Theolog. p. 267, Francf. 1653.

is sheathed in one of the covers, and which produces an impression as distinct, and as easily obliterated as that of a black lead pencil. The tables are interleaved with common paper."[60]

The ancient offices of the church were sometimes written upon long *slips of Parchment*, pasted together, and forming a very narrow roll of considerable length. This was fastened at one end to a very short staff, and rolled upon it. Such rolls were termed *Kontakia*, or *Contacia*.[61]

The variety of substances thus made use of as materials for writing upon, rendered it necessary to employ different *Instruments* to trace the writing. For *inscriptions on stone or metal*, the CHISEL and the GRAVER were adopted: thus JOB ch. xix.

> v. 23.—O! that my words were even now written down;
> O! that they were engraven on a table;
> v. 24.—With a *Pen of Iron* upon lead!
> That they were sculptur'd in a rock for ever!
> GOOD'S TRANS.

But for writing upon boards, waxed tablets, bark, and such kinds of softer substances, the STYLE or *Graphium* was used. This was an instrument, sharp at one end to write with, and broad at the other, to erase any miswritten words; hence the phrase *vertere stylum*, to correct or blot out, was common among the Romans. The style was sometimes made of iron, sometimes of gold, or silver, or brass, or ivory, or even of wood. The iron styles were dangerous weapons, and were therefore prohibited by the Romans. Suetonius relates, that Cæsar seized the arm of Cassius, one of his murderers, and pierced it with his style. He also tells us, Caligula excited the people to massacre a Roman Senator with their styles; and the Emperor Claudius was so afraid of being assassinated, that he would scarcely permit the Librarii, or Public Writers, to enter his presence, without the cases which

(60) Southey's Omniana, I. pp. 133, 134.
(61) Du Cange, v. Contacium.

contained their styles being first taken from them. Prudentius, (De Coran. Hymn ix.) thus emphatically describes the tortures to which Cassianus* was put by his scholars, who killed him with their *Pugillares* and styles:

Innumeri circum pueri, miserabile visu,
Confossa paruis membra figebant stylis.
Unde pugillares soliti præcurrere ceras,
Scholare murmur adnotantes scripserant,
Conjiciunt alii lapides, inq; ora tabellas
Frangunt, relisa fronte lignum dissilit.
Buxa crepant cerata, genis impacta cruentis:
Rubetq: ab ictu curta tumens pagina.
Inde alii stimulos, et acumina ferrea vibrant,
Qua parte aratis cera sulcis scribitur,
Et qua secti, apices abolentur, et æquoris hirti.
Rursus nitescens innouatur area.[62]

O wretched sight!—unnumber'd youths around
With small sharp *Styles*, his painful members wound.
The Tablets,—spread with wax,—for writing us'd,
O'er which so scholar-like they oft had mus'd,
They dash upon his face—(some throw rude stones!)
And cruelly break them on his bleeding bones.
The boxwood shivers, with the rapid stroke,
As lightnings rend the ancient forest oak;
And as it beats that visage mark'd with age,
Blood bathes his cheeks, and dyes the batter'd page.
Meanwhile, another crew, with deadliest hate,
Resume the *Iron* to complete his fate;—
One end, a point, trac'd all the indented words
In written furrows on the waxen boards;
The other, with a broad and level face,
Shall smooth the roughness, and the lines erase,
Till the whole area is again renew'd,
The seat of other thoughts, refin'd or rude.—
These horrid tools they whet and point afresh,
For keener tortures on his martyr'd flesh.

D. M'NICHOLL.

Our Saxon ancestors appear to have sometimes used the *Style* without ink, when writing upon parchment or vellum: H. Wanley instances in fol. 109, and 113 b. of the TEXTUS S. CEDDÆ, or *St. Chad's Gospel*.[63] But, for

* This Cassianus was a christian Schoolmaster, at Imola, the ancient Forum Cornelii, twenty-seven miles from Ravenna, in Italy. In 365 he was, by order of the Emperor Julian, exposed to the merciless rage of his scholars, who cruelly murdered him.

(62) Sixt. Senensi Bibliotheca Sancta, Lib. ii. p. 124. 4to. Col. Agr. 1616.

Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, ch. viii. p. 207.

writing with ink, or coloured liquids, REEDS or Canes, and afterwards QUILLS were employed; and sometimes PENCILS *made of Hair.*

The most beautiful *Reeds* for this purpose, grew formerly in Egypt, near Cnidus a city and district in the province of Caria in Asia Minor, and likewise in Armenia, and Italy. Chardin, (Travels, vol. V. p. 49.) speaks of Reeds which grow in the marshes of Persia, and are much sought after in the Levant. "Their writing Pens," says he, "are made of reeds, or small hard canes, of the size of the largest swan quills, which they cut and slit in the same manner as we do ours, but they give them a much longer nib."[64] The Tartars and Indians still write with small reeds bearing the hand exceeding lightly.

Pencils made of hair, are used by the Chinese for their writing: they first liquify their ink, and then dip their pencils into it. The curious large capital letters used in Italy, in the decline of the Roman Empire, and until the sixteenth century, were made with hair Pencils. After the invention of Printing, they were drawn by the illuminators.[65] Specimens of these are in plate VIII. of Astle's *Origin and Progress of Writing.*

Quills of geese, swans, pelicans, peacocks, crows, and other birds, have been long used in these western parts, but the exact date of their introduction is uncertain. St. Isidore of Seville, who died in 636, describes a Pen as in use in his time. "The instruments necessary for a Scribe, are the *Reed* and the *Pen.*"[66] In the same century Aldhelm wrote a short poem on a writing-pen. In the eighth century writing-pens are mentioned by Alcuin, after which period, proofs of their use occur so frequently as to place the matter beyond all doubt, Mabillon, *(De Re.*

(63) Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, I. p. 541. Lond. 8vo. 1812.
(64) Beckmann's History of Inventions, by Johnston, II. pp. 207, 208, London, 8vo. 1797.
(65) Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, ch. 8. p. 208.
(66) Isid. Hisp. Orig. Lib. vi. ch. xiv.

Diplomat. in Supp. p. 51, saw a *MS. of the Gospels*, which had been written in letters of gold, in the ninth century; in which the four Evangelists were represented with quills in their hands. In the twelfth century, Peter de Clugny, who by scholastic writers is called the *Venerable*, and who died in 1157, wrote to a friend, exhorting him to assume the *Pen*, instead of the plough, and *transcribe the Scriptures*, instead of tilling the land.[67]

But notwithstanding the great advantage which Quills have over Reeds, in writing, the latter seem to have continued long in use, even with the former. Men of letters assure us, that writing-reeds were used along with quills, in the eighth century, at least in France; and that the latter first began to be common in the ninth. The papal acts, and those of synods appear, however, to have been written with reeds much later. In monasteries they were retained for *Text* and *Initials;* while for *small writing*, quills were everywhere employed. When the learned Reuchlin was obliged by the cruelties of his enemies, and by famine, and the plague, to fly from his country; and to leave behind him all his property, he was supplied with the most common necessaries by Perkheimer. Among other articles, the latter sent to him, in the year 1520, writing materials, good paper, penknives, and, instead of peacock's feathers which he had requested, the best Swan quills; and that nothing might be wanting, added also proper reeds, of so excellent a sort, that Reuchlin considered them to be Egyptian or Cnidian. About the same period Reuchlin sent *three* of these reeds to Erasmus, who gratefully acknowledged the present, and expressed a wish that when he procured more, he would send some of them to a learned man in England, who was a common friend to both. About the year 1433, writing-quills were so scarce at Venice, that men of letters could scarcely procure them. Ambrosius Traversarius, a monk of Camaldule,

(67) Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, II. pp. 216—219.

sent from Venice, to his brother, a bunch of quills, together with a letter, in which he said; "They are not the best; but such as I received in a present. Show the whole bunch to our friend Nicholas, that he may select *a quill;* for these articles are indeed scarcer in this city than at Florence." Ambrosius also complains, that at the same period, he had scarcely any more Ink, and requested that a small vessel filled with it, might be sent to him![68]

The use of INKS, or coloured liquids, was early known among the ancients. Jeremiah, who flourished about 600 years before the Christian era, speaks of writing with ink; (ch. xxxvi. 18.) "Then Baruch answered them; He pronounced all these words unto me with his mouth, and I wrote them with ink in the book." The term *(deev)* used by the sacred writer, signifies *blackness;* as does also the word *ater,* from whence *atramentum,* the Latin term for ink. But although *black ink* was evidently the first in use, yet afterwards, inks of different colours were occasionally used. *Golden Ink* was used by various nations, as may be seen in several libraries, and the archives of churches. *Silver Ink* was also common in most countries. *Red, blue, green,* and *yellow Inks,* were not uncommon. *Metallic* characters were also sometimes burnished, or varnished with wax.[69]

Lamp-black, or the black obtained from burnt ivory, formed the basis of the inks of the ancients, which was made in the sun, without the aid of fire. *Red* ink was obtained from vermilion, cinnabar, and carmine; *Purple,* from the murex, or purple fish: (See Pliny, Nat. Hist. Lib. ix. ch. lx.) *Blue, yellow,* and *green* colours, were made from pulverized gold and silver, sulphuretted, and submitted to the action of fire, and were used for ornamenting and enriching manuscripts.[70]

(68) Beckmann, II. pp. 222, 223.
(69) Hugo, De prima Scrib. Orig. ch. viii. pp. 103—109.
Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, ch. viii. 210.
(70) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, I. p. 140.

Various methods were also adopted by the ancients, in order to *preserve* their writings, and to facilitate the reading of them. Those upon skins or papyrus, &c. were glued or sewed together, and rolled up, generally on cylinders of wood, and called Rolls, or *Volumes*, from the Latin *Volvendo*, to roll up. To this form of the ancient writings, there are many references in Scripture: (Ps. xl. 7. Jeremiah xxxvi. 2. Ezekiel ii. 9.) The literal rendering of Luke iv. 17. would be, "And *unrolling* the book, he found the passage, &c." evidently attributing to our Lord, the action of unrolling a book, and afterwards rolling it up again. Revelation vi. 14, also refers to this mode of rolling up the ancient writings.

The Cylinder, on which the writing was rolled, was named *Umbilicus*, and was generally formed of wood, particularly ebony, cedar, box, or cypress; sometimes also of ivory or bone. The ornaments of gold, or silver, or ivory, with which the ends were capped, were termed *Cornua;* and the handle, or lower end, by which the roll was held in the hand, was probably, what was in Alfred's time denominated, by our ancestors, the ÆSTEL. The side of the parchment, or roll, which was written upon, was called *Pagina*, or Page, from *pango* to write, or compose; and as only one side of the roll was, in general, written upon, the written side was termed the *Recto*, and the blank side *Verso*, words still in use amongst Bibliographers.[71] When the volume was rolled up, the outside was named *Frons*, and frequently decorated with paintings: the bands with which the roll was fastened when rolled up, were denominated *Lora*, and were variously ornamented.*[72]

Many of the Manuscripts which have been discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum, are in rolls; so are those also which have been taken out of Egyptian Mum-

(71) Peignot Essai sur Parchemin, pp. 93, 94.

* See Frontispiece.

(72) Hugo De Prima Scrib. Orig. ch. XXXV. pp. 586—610.

mies. The Hebrew MSS. are written in columns, and are unrolled and read from the right hand to the left, and usually attached to an *Umbilicus*, or Cylinder at each end;* many other Oriental manuscripts are unrolled perpendicularly. At present, books are seldom made to roll up in the East: many indeed, of the very fine Persian and Arabic MSS. are written upon a kind of thin pasteboard, like paper; and being jointed at the back and front, fold up like pattern-cards.[73]

The Romans deposited their most valuable works, in cases or chests called *Scrinia*, made of Cedar-wood; they also used an oil expressed from the Cedar-tree, to preserve them from becoming mouldy or worm-eaten. Paintings obtained from Herculaneum prove, that the cases in which the rolls of writing were preserved, were frequently circular boxes, in which the different volumes were inserted with one of the ends downward, and a small label, containing the *Titulus* or Title, affixed to the upper one. The Greeks deposited their Forensic, or Legal Instruments, in certain brazen or earthen vessels, called *Echini*. (Suidas, v. Εχινος.) The *two Greek Versions of the Old Testament*, which Origen published in his Hexapla, and numbered *five* and *six*; he found preserved in an earthen vessel.[74] A similar mode of preserving Writings, was adopted by the Prophet Jeremiah, (ch. xxxii. 14). Leland, in his *Collectanea*, (Tom. iii. p. 137.) has the following notice: "A writen booke of a twenty leves founde in a holow stone kyvered with a Stone in digging for a foundation at Yvy chirch by Sarisbyri." The Roman Historians affirm, that the books of Numa, which had been buried more than 500 years, looked when taken up, as if perfectly new, from having been closely surrounded with wax candles; wax cloth being then probably unknown. The Arabs and other Oriental nations, are wont

* See Frontispiece.

(73) Clarke's Harmer's Observations, III. p. 130, note by Edit.

(74) Calmet, Dissert. sur la forme des livres, &c.

to wrap up their sacred books in rich cases of brocaded silk; or some such rich materials. There is a fine specimen of this in the library of the East India Company in Leadenhall-street, a MS. containing the Poetical Works of the King of Persia, richly adorned, and wrapped up in costly velvet, &c. a present by himself to the Governor General of India. A mode also of *binding books* similar to our present one, seems to have been in use among the ancients, as may be seen in engravings copied from drawings, found in the ruins of Herculaneum. See FRAGMENTS, *by the Editor of Calmet's Dictionary.*

To these ancient modes of writing, and the materials employed, the etymology of many words now in use may be traced. Not again to mention *Paper* from *Papyrus*, or *Volume* from *Volvendo*; the very word BIBLE, which means, by way of eminence, THE BOOK, is derived from the Greek word *Biblos*, or *Byblos*, a book, but which originally signified *the inner bark of a tree.* The word *Book* is also derived from the Saxon *Boc* or *Bocce*, the Beech Tree, probably from tablets or leaves of that tree having been used for writing upon. Hence also the term *Leaf*, applied to a part of a book, and the use of the word *Style*, for a person's manner of writing.

From the view that has been given of the various modes of writing at different periods, it is evident, that there is nothing inconsistent with ancient Oriental customs, either in the opinion of Dr. Kennicott, or of Dr. A. Clarke, as to the manner in which the transpositions in the Pentateuch have been occasioned. The same supposition also easily accounts for the narrative of the death of Moses, forming the concluding chapter of Deuteronomy; which probably formed originally the commencement of the Book of Joshua, from whence it was accidentally separated, and afterwards appended to the Books of Moses.[75]

(75) See Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary on Deuteronomy, ch. xxxiv.

CHAPTER II.

Inspired Penmen. Malachi. Ezra. Autograph of Ezra. Jewish Divisions of the Books of Scripture. Targums. Masora. Hebrew MSS. First Edition of the Hebrew Bible. Septuagint Version. Codex Vaticanus. Codex Alexandrinus. Cyril Lucar. Versions of Aquila—of Theodotian—of Symmachus. Hexapla. Persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. Jewish Academies. Doctors. Scribes.

THE Great Jewish Legislator, was followed by a succession of other writers, historical and prophetical, who with singular impartiality narrated the history of their nation; and with an originality, sublimity and purity of doctrine and morality, which could only have proceeded from Divine Inspiration, instructed and warned the chosen people of God, through a series of ages, extending from the decease of Moses, to the time of Malachi, Ezra and Nehemiah, who closed the sacred Canon of the Old Testament, about 400 years before the Incarnation of the Redeemer.

MALACHI is called by the Jews, "*The seal of the Prophets;*" and the Rabbins say, that from the time the latter Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi died, the Holy Spirit was taken away from Israel. The outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost afterwards, was therefore a full proof that the Mosaic dispensation was concluded, and that the new dispensation of the Messiah had restored the Prophetical Spirit, according to the promise by Joel, ii. 28.

EZRA, who was *a ready Scribe in the Law of Moses*, is allowed, by the universal consent of antiquity, to have been the restorer, collector, and publisher of the canon of the Old Testament Scriptures, which had existed before

only in separate parcels; and had suffered much from the ignorance and carelessness of transcribers.[1]

A copy of the Pentateuch, purporting to be the *Autograph* of Ezra, was sometime ago preserved in the library of the Dominicans at Bologna, in Italy. The following account is given of it by the learned Montfaucon in his *Diarium Italicum*, or Journey through Italy: "I had long been desirous to turn over the Manuscript, which I was told had been many years preserved among the relics of St. Dominic; which at my request was courteously granted by the *Dominican* Fathers. But in regard that the said jewel is locked up under two keys, one of which is kept by the magistrates, and the other by the friars, they took care to have them both brought; and produced a vast volume or roll. It is a calf-skin dressed and pliable, containing, not the book of Ezra, as many give out, but the *Pentateuch*, in the nature of the books still preserved in the Synagogues of the Jews: I took notice of some few marginal notes by a more modern hand. The letters have scarce lost any thing of their blackness, which is attributed to the skin, a mighty preserver of ink. The manuscript was presented to the monastery by the Jews, when Aymericus was General of the Order, that is, about the beginning of the fourteenth century: an inscription sewed in, about the middle of the roll, declares it to this effect."

'This is the roll of the law written by *Ezra*, the 'scribe, with his own hand, when the children of the 'captivity under *Cyrus* returned to Jerusalem, and built 'the second temple, which was finished in forty-two 'years; and stood four hundred and twenty, that is till 'forty-two years after the Passion of CHRIST. That this 'is the very same, has been received by the constant 'report of ancient Jews, who were examined in several 'synagogues, where it was also preserved. From ancient

(1) Dr. A. Clarke's Succession of Sacred Literature, I. p.36. Kennicott's Second Dissertation, ch. iii. pp. 232. 248.

'times, it was looked upon as such among the Jews, 'from generation to generation; and as such it was 'received by the reverend General of the Order, Ayme-'ricus, whose it is. Such some learned Jews proved it 'to be, having made certain *literal* experiments, in the 'presence of me brother Marsilius, and of the reader 'Perpynian, and of brother Peter Labius. Which to-'kens, either are not the same, or not so perfect in older 'rolls, as I have found by experience in many very ancient 'rolls. This roll therefore is to be looked upon as genu-'ine, and to be handled with reverence, because written 'by so great an author; and ordered by the Holy Ghost, 'after the Burning of the Law; given as an original for 'other manuscripts; and preserved so many ages. And, 'what is no less, that we and the Jews believe, it was 'shewn in the temples on the greatest solemnities, in 'the presence of the Fulfiller of the Law, God himself, 'and our Lord JESUS CHRIST.'

"This appears by the character," says Montfaucon, "to have been written in the days of Aymericus, General of the Order, who enjoyed that dignity in the year of our Lord 1308. This makes it plain, that they are much mistaken who think there are no Hebrew Bibles written above four hundred years ago. For it is four hundred years since this Manuscript was presented to Aymericus, which was then looked upon as so very ancient; and though what they say of its being written by *Ezra's* own hand looks like a fable, yet it cannot be denied to have been of some antiquity when presented to Aymericus."

"Besides the *Latin Inscription* above inserted, there is one in *Hebrew*, written by a skilful hand, now almost erased, (which in English is thus:)

'This is the Book of the Law of Moses, which was 'writ by Ezra the Scribe; and he read it in the sight of 'the multitude, men and women; and he stood in a 'wooden tower." (i. e. a Pulpit.)

This Inscription is supposed to have been written at the same time with the *Latin* one above-mentioned; for the Jews, when they made Aymericus that present, produced it with such a testimony of its pretended antiquity.[2] Dr. Kennicott doubts the fact of its being the *Autograph* of Ezra; he nevertheless considers it as very ancient, and at least, not less than nine hundred years old.[3] Montfaucon describes another ancient MS. Hebrew Copy of the Book of *Esther*, in the library of the Canons Regular, at Bologna. It is a roll of dressed calf-skin, very ancient, worn with using, and appears to be older than the Pentateuch before mentioned.

EZRA having collected together all the books of which the Holy Scriptures then consisted, disposed them in their proper order, and divided them into three parts; *The Law*, *The Prophets*, and *The Cetubin*, or Hagiographa, i. e. the Holy Writings. This division our Saviour himself notices, in Luke xxiv. 44. when he says, "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things might be fulfilled, which are written in the Law, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me." By the *Psalms*, he there means the whole third part called the Hagiographa; which beginning with the Psalms, was for that reason then commonly called by that name.[4]

The five books of the LAW are, by the Jews, divided into fifty-four sections. One of these sections was read in the ancient Jewish synagogues every sabbath-day. The number of these sections was fifty-four, because in their intercalated years, (a month being then added,) there were fifty-four sabbaths. Till the time of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, they read only the Law. But then being forbid to read it any more, they substituted fifty-four sections out of the prophets, the reading of which they

(2) Montfaucon's Travels through Italy, pp. 436—438.
(3) Kennicott's Dissert. on Chronicles xi. &c. p. 309
(4) Prideaux's Connection, II. p. 394.

ever after continued. When the reading of the Law was again restored by the Maccabees, the section which was read every sabbath out of the Law served for their first lesson, and the section out of the Prophets for their second lesson. This was also the practice in the time of the apostles; and therefore when Paul entered into the synagogue at Antioch, in Pisidia, it is said that he stood up to preach, "after the reading of the *Law*, and the *Prophets*." (Acts xiii. 15.)

These sections were divided into verses, which the Jews called *Pesukim*. This division was most likely invented by Ezra, for the sake of the Targumists, or Chaldee interpreters. For after the Hebrew language ceased to be the mother tongue of the Jews, and the Chaldee grew up into use amongst them instead of it, (as was the case after their return from the Babylonish captivity,) their usage was, that in the public reading of the Law to the people, it was read to them, first in the original Hebrew, and after that rendered by an interpreter into the Chaldee language; and this was done period by period. (Nehemiah viii. 8.) The Christian practice of reading two lessons in the churches, one out of the Old Testament, and another out of the New Testament, owes its rise to this custom of the Jews.

The TARGUMS of the Jews, originated also in the necessity of translating the Scriptures into a language understood by the people. The word *Targum* signifies the translation of a book from one language into another, and is applied by the Jewish Rabbins to the translation of the Sacred Writings, from Hebrew into any other language, as *Chaldee, Syriac, Persian*, or *Greek*. There are several Targums, but the two principal ones are those of ONKELOS, and JONATHAN. The first by Onkelos, is a very literal translation of the five books of Moses into pure Chaldee, and was probably written prior to the Christian era; the latter is also a paraphrastical translation of all the pro-

phets into pure Chaldee, but not so elegant as the former, nor written at so early a date.[5]

Soon after the time of Ezra, the celebrated Jewish critics called MASORITES, or MAZORETES, began their criticisms and grammatical remarks upon the Sacred text. They had their name from the Hebrew word *masar*, to deliver from one to another, because they professed to deliver the Scriptures to posterity, in the state of purity in which they were found previous to the Babylonish captivity. To this end, they not only numbered every verse, word, and letter, but even went so far as to ascertain how often *each letter* of the *alphabet* occurred in the *whole Bible!* Thus sacredly did they watch over their records, in order to prevent every species of corruption.[6]

These Jewish critics were not a society, but rather a succession of men; and the *Masora*, or Masoretical criticisms, the work of many critics and grammarians who lived at different periods from the time of Ezra, to about the year of Christ 1030, when the two famous Rabbins, BEN ASHER and BEN NAPHTALI flourished; since whose time, almost all that has been done has been to copy after them, without making any more corrections, or Masoretical criticisms. These two Rabbins were chief Teachers, or Rectors of the Great Schools of the Jews, at Babylon, and in Palestine. Each of them, we are told, laboured to produce a correct copy of the Sacred Scriptures; and their respective followers corrected theirs by that of their master; the Eastern, or Babylonian Jews, adhering to the copy of Ben Naphtali; the Western Jews, or those inhabiting Palestine, following that of Ben Asher. Maimonides, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, says, "The copy, whereon we depend, is the well-known copy in *Egypt*, which contains the twenty-four books,

(5) Lewis's Antiq. of Heb. Repub. II. B. 3, p. 411; IV. B. 8, p. 336
Clarke's Succession of Sacred Literature, I. p. 48.

(6) Clarke's Succession of S. L. I. p. 46
Waltoni Proleg 8. *passim.*

and which was many years at Jerusalem for the purpose of correcting copies from it; and upon it all of them depend; for BEN ASHER revised it, and minutely corrected it; and revised it many times over: and upon the same I rely in the copy of the Law, which I have written according to his rule."[7] Another copy in high estimation among the modern Jews, is said to have been corrected by R. Hillel, and for several centuries to have been kept at Toledo, in Spain. Elias Levita, a learned Jewish Masoretic critic of the sixteenth century, born in Germany, and the author of several Grammatical and Lexicographical works, mentions also two other celebrated copies; the *Hieriuchan*, or copy brought from Jericho; and the *Arabian*, or one preserved at Sinai.[8]

The Masoretic notes, called by the Jews, *the Fence or Hedge of the Law*, were at first written in separate rolls, but are now usually placed in the margin, or at the top and bottom of the page in printed copies. Some transcribers, out of a design to decorate their MSS. have contrived to form the marginal lines of the Masora into all sorts of fanciful devices; such as triangles, circles, knots of various kinds, birds, beasts, &c. Such an one was presented by the Emperor Maximilian I. to Reuchlin. It had originally been written for R. Aben Ezra in the twelfth century, in extremely small characters, not lineally, but in the form of certain animals. It is said to be still preserved in the library of the Margrave of Baden.[9]

The first printed edition of the Masora, was in Bomberg's Great Hebrew Bible, printed at Venice, in 1526, in 2 volumes folio, and again in 1549; under the direction of R. Jacob Ben Chaim, a learned Jew of Tunis.

(7) Yeates's Collation, p. 29.
Kennicott's Dissert. 2. pp. 451. 457.
(8) Waltoni Proleg. 4. sec. 10. 11.
Simon. Hist. Crit. du V. T. Liv. i. ch. xxii.
Kennicott, Dissert, 2. pp. 460—464.
(9) Waltoni Proleg. 8. sec. 11.

A Latin translation of his celebrated Preface, written originally in the Rabbinical character, may be seen in Kennicott's *Second Dissertation*, pp. 229—244. The Variations of the copies of Ben Naphtali, and Ben Asher, are also printed in the sixth volume of the *London Polyglott*.

Elias Levita, in the sixteenth century, wrote a standard work upon the Masora, which he intituled *Masoreth Hammasoreth*, having spent twenty years in the study of it. To this work the elder Buxtorf was under considerable obligations, in his celebrated *Tiberias*, or Masoretical Commentary, which he published in 1665, and to which he gave the title of *Tiberias*, from a celebrated Jewish School or Academy, which flourished at Tiberias for several centuries. The notes affixed by the Masorites to the end of the different books of the Hebrew Bible, ascertaining the *number* of *greater* and *smaller sections*, *chapters*, *verses*, and *letters*, are translated and subjoined to the respective Books, by the *Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke*, in his valuable and learned *Commentary*.

The Jews still bestow extraordinary care on the copies of the Sacred Writings, designed for their synagogues. "It is a constant rule with them, that whatever is considered as corrupt, shall never be used, but shall be burnt, or otherwise destroyed: a book of the law, wanting but one letter, with one letter too much, or with an error in one single letter, written with any thing but ink, or written upon parchment made of the hide of an unclean animal, or on parchment not purposely prepared for that use, or prepared by any but an Israelite, or on skins of parchment tied together by unclean strings, shall be holden to be corrupt; that no word shall be written, without a line first drawn on the parchment; no word written by heart, or without having been first pronounced orally by the writer; that before he writes the name of GOD, he shall wash his pen; that no letter shall be joined to another; and that if the blank parchment cannot be seen all around each

letter, the roll shall be corrupt. There are settled rules for the length and breadth of each sheet of parchment, and for the space to be left between each letter, each word, and each section.[10] Certain letters of the more splendid and highly finished copies, are ornamented with *Tagin*, or Crowns. These are certain fine *radii*, ascending from the tops of the letters, in the manner of horns, and are said to be done in imitation of the glory Moses saw in the Divine writing, delivered to him on Mount Sinai. The *Codex Malabaricus*, presented to the University of Cambridge, by the Rev. Dr. C. BUCHANAN, and collated by Mr. Yeates, exhibits a formation of particular letters, peculiar to itself, especially the *Heth* and *Lamed*, the former being sometimes formed with an *arched*, and sometimes with an *angular* cap; and the latter having an indented or *hooked* top.[11]

The text of the Synagogue-rolls of the Pentateuch, is not divided into verses; and is also without the points of distinction, (:) called *Soph-pesuk*. Buxtorf, in his *Tiberias*, ch. xi. p. 113. quotes the following note from Elias Levita: "It is a certain truth, and of which there is no doubt, that this Law, which Moses set before the Israelites, was plain; without points, and without accents, and without any distinction of verses, even as we see it at this day: and according to the opinion of the Cabalistic doctors, the whole Law was as one verse, yea, and there are that say, as one word."[12]

Those who have not seen the rolls used in the synagogues, can have no conception of the exquisite beauty, correctness, and equality of the writing. Some that I have seen, have been equal to any Hebrew typography, for beauty and regularity.

The first *printed* edition of the *whole* of the Hebrew Scriptures, was executed by Abraham Ben Chaim, at Son-

(10) Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, I. p. 47. Oxford, 1799, 12mo.
(11) Yeates's Collation, &c. pp. 6. 38. (12) Yeates, *ubi sup.* pp. 35, 36.

cino, in Italy, in 1488, in two vols. folio; ornamented with initial letters and words, from engravings in wood.

A very curious copy of the *Chetubin,* or *Hagiographa,* printed at Naples the preceding year, was presented by Dr. Pellet, to the valuable library of Eton College. It is on vellum, in two volumes folio; and is considered as unique. Dr. Pellet supposes the whole edition to have been destroyed, except this copy, which by singular good fortune escaped the flames.[13]

The celebrated SEPTUAGINT, or *Greek Version of the Old Testament,* was made in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, who reigned about 280 years before Christ. The most ancient account of this famous Version, is in a treatise written in the Greek language by *Aristeas,* who professes to have been an officer in the guards of the king of Egypt at the time it was made; and is delivered by way of letter, to his brother Philocrates. The following is the substance of his narrative:

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, king of Egypt, wishing to establish an extensive library at Alexandria, committed the charge of it to Demetrius Phalereus, a noble Athenian, who collected from various quarters, 20,000 volumes. In the course of his inquiries after curious and valuable books, he was informed of the LAW OF MOSES. This information he communicated to the king; and urged the importance of a translation of it into Greek. Ptolemy adopted measures for obtaining it; and accordingly directed that an embassy should be sent to Eleazar, the High-Priest, at Jerusalem, to request him to transmit a correct copy of the Law, and to send a certain number of grave and learned men, who should be capable of translating it out of Hebrew into Greek. Aristeas, Sosibius of Tarentum, and Andreas, three noblemen of Ptolemy's court, and persons friendly to the Jews, embraced the opportunity, for soliciting the

(13) Kennicott, Dissert. 1. p. 520; and Dissert. 2. p. 472.

liberation of the Jewish captives, taken prisoner by Ptolemy Soter, and still detained in slavery. Their suit was successful, and the king ordered twenty drachmas to be paid for each of them, whether man, woman, or child. The sum expended in their ransom was 660 talents, liberating 198,000 captives. Aristeas and Andreas, were afterwards commissioned to carry the official Letter, from Ptolemy to Eleazar, and their embassy was accompanied with gifts for the temple, and money for the sacrifices there offered, and the general service of the sanctuary; viz. 100 talents; 50 talents in utensils of gold; and 20 talents in utensils of silver, beside the precious stones with which they were adorned, and which were of twice the value of the gold. Their embassy succeeded; and Eleazar sent to the Egyptian King, a copy of the Law, written in letters of gold, upon skins of parchment, of exquisite fineness and beauty. Six Elders out of every tribe, men of acknowledged reputation and learning, were chosen to execute the translation, who returned to Alexandria, with the messengers of Ptolemy. On their arrival, the *seventy-two* Elders were graciously received by the king, who not only expressed his satisfaction at receiving the Law, and his astonishment at its execution; but also feasted the Elders for several days, and during the festival, fully satisfied himself of their wisdom and ability, by proving each of them by seventy-two different questions. The seven days of feasting being ended, each of the Elders received three talents, as a mark of the royal favour; and were then conducted by Demetrius to a sumptuous habitation, prepared for them in a retired situation, in the Isle of Pharos, near Alexandria. Here they pursued their important undertaking with the utmost diligence, daily collating their separate versions with each other, and then dictating the approved version to Demetrius, who acted as their scribe. In seventy-two days they completed the whole translation, which was afterwards read in the presence of the king,

who expressed his approbation in the most decided manner, and rewarded each of the Elders, with three rich garments, two talents of gold, and a cup of gold of the weight of one talent. He afterwards sent them honourably back to Jerusalem, loaded with the most valuable gifts to Eleazar the High-Priest; and commanded the Version itself to be lodged with the utmost care in the Alexandrian Library.[14] Such is the account given by Aristeas. It has however been called in question by many of the learned, especially by Dr. Hody, who in a work, expressly written on the subject, has so fully exposed the inconsistencies and anachronisms of the author, that the *History of Aristeas* is now generally considered as spurious.

But, although the story as narrated by Aristeas, is certainly in some measure fabulous, the general fact must be allowed; since writers prior to the Christian era, or nearly coeval with it, have attested its truth. Aristobulus, Josephus, Philo, Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, and Eusebius, and even the Talmudical writers all concur in the leading facts of the history of this Version.[15] Dr. Masch supposes, that this translation was promoted by Ptolemy, on political grounds, in order to secure the residence of the Jews in Egypt, by preventing the necessity of a constant intercourse with Judea, for want of the Law. The specious pretence of obtaining a copy of the Law for the library which had been erected at Alexandria, he conjectures to have originated with Demetrius. The transcription of the Law into the Greek characters, and the Version of it into the Greek language, he considers to have been the effect of coercion, not of choice; and the account of Aristeas to have been written for the purpose of giving a plausible colouring to the

(14) Hody, De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus; Aristeæ Hist. p. I.—XXXV. fol. Oxon. 1705.

(15) See Bibliotheca Sacra, edit, Masch, pt. ii. vol. II. *in Præfat.* Waltoni Bib. Polyglott. Proleg. 9.
Hamilton's Introduction to the Heb. Scriptures, ch. vi.

whole transaction.[16] This opinion, if adopted, affords a reason why the Hellenist Jews celebrated the translation of the Law by an annual feast, and the Jews of Palestine, marked it by an annual fast.[17] It is probable that only the LAW, or Five Books of Moses, were at first translated, and that the other books of the Old Testament were done at different times, by different hands, as the necessity of the case demanded, or the Providence of God appointed; and being added to the books already translated, were comprehended with them in the general term *Septuagint*, or Septuagint Version, so called from the number of translators employed.[18]

By this translation of the Scriptures into Greek, Divine Providence prepared the way for the preaching of the Gospel which was then approaching, and facilitated the promulgation of it amongst many nations, by the instrumentality of the finest, most copious, and most correct language that was ever spoken, and which became common to all the countries conquered by Alexander: and to this version many of the most celebrated heathen philosophers were indebted for their most correct notions of the being and perfections of God, as well as for their best and purest sentiments of moral duties.[19]

The two most noted MSS. of the Septuagint Version, are the CODEX ALEXANDRINUS, and the CODEX VATICANUS. The *Codex Vaticanus*, or *Vatican copy*, is so called from belonging to the Vatican Library, at Rome; and contains not only the Old Testament, but also the New. It is supposed to have been written in the fifth or sixth century; and is executed in the uncial, or square characters, (what we commonly term capitals,) without distinction of chapters, verses, or words. Cardinal Carafa edited the first

(16) Bibliotheca Sacra, edit. Masch. *ubi sup* in Præfat. p. 12.
(17) Hamilton's Introduction to Heb. Scriptures, ch. vi. pp. 114—117.
(18) Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. Lib. ii. ch. vii. ix.
Owen's Enquiry into the present sate of the Septuagint Version. sec. i. pp. 2, 3. (19) Gale's Court of the Gentiles, *passim*.

printed edition of this MS. by order of Pope Sixtus V. in folio; but without the New Testament. The Cardinal and his associates were employed nine years upon this edition, which was printed at Rome, by Franciscus Zunetti, in 1587.

The *Codex Alexandrinus*, or Alexandrian copy, was presented to king Charles I. by Sir Thomas Roe, from Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, who accompanied the MS. with the following note written by his own hand:

Liber iste Scripturæ Sacræ Novi et Veteris Testamenti, prout ex Traditione habemus, est scriptus manu Theclæ nobilis fœminæ Egyptiæ ante mile (pro *Mille*) *et trecentos Annos circiter paulo post concilium Nicænum. Nomen Theclæ in fine Libri erat exaratum; sed extincto Christianismo in Egypto a Mahometanis, et Libri una Christianorum in similem sunt redacti conditionem; extinctum ergo et* (lege *est*) *Theclæ nomen et laceratum, sed memoria et traditio recens observat.*

Cyrillus Patriarcha *Constantinopolitanus.*

(TRANSLATION.)

'This book of the Holy Scriptures of the New and 'Old Testament, was written, according to tradition, by 'the hand of Thecla, a noble Egyptian woman, about 'thirteen hundred years since,* a little after the council 'of Nice. The name of Thecla, was formerly written 'at the end of the book, but Christianity being suppress-'ed in Egypt, by the Mohammedans, the books also of 'the Christians shared the same fate. But though the 'name of Thecla be blotted and torn out, yet memory 'and tradition continue to preserve it.

Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople.'[20]

* Cyril's note was written in the year 1628. The council of Nice was held at a city of that name in Nicomedia, in 324. The most strenuous advocates of this MS. however, consider this date as too early, and it is much more probable, that it is about the same age as the *Codex Vaticanus*.

(20) Eclectic Review, II. pt. i. p. 216.
Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. ii. p. 651.

It is written on parchment, and like all the most ancient manuscripts, in uncial characters, without distinction of chapters, verses, or words, and originally without accents. It consists of four folios, three of which contain the Old Testament, and the fourth, the New Testament. It formerly belonged to the King's Library, from whence it was transferred in 1753, to the British Museum. A *fac simile* edition of the *New Testament* of this MS. was published in 1786, by Dr. C. G. Woide, with types cast for that purpose, line for line, without intervals between the words, as in the manuscript itself. It is a splendid folio; and is accompanied with a learned preface, containing an accurate description of the manuscript, with an exact list of all its various readings. In 1814, the British House of Commons ordered, that a *fac simile* edition also of the *Old Testament* should be executed at the public expense. The Rev. Henry Harvey Baber, one of the librarians of the British Museum, and editor of a beautiful edition of "Wiclif's New Testament," printed in 4to. 1810, was appointed the editor, and has since published the book of Psalms, for which he had issued proposals prior to his appointment; and several other parts of it.

The tragical fate of CYRIL LUCAR, who presented the *Alexandrian Manuscript*, to King Charles I. demands the tear of sympathy from every pious and candid lover of literature and religious liberty. A native of Crete, educated at Venice, and extensively learned, he was successively Patriarch of Alexandria, and Constantinople. In his younger days he had travelled over a considerable part of Europe, and understood not only the Greek, Arabic, and Turkish languages, but also the Latin, and Italian. Possessing a mind superior to the slavish condition of his country, he formed various plans for the promotion of the common cause of Christianity, and the particular church under his care. He collected an excellent library, which he furnished with the choicest manuscripts; the *Alexan-*

drian MS. was one of them. He also patronized a Greek, named *Nicodemus Metaxa,* who had resided some years in England, and who having learnt the art of printing, had procured a printing-press and types from London; and employed him to print catechisms and other books for the instruction of the Greeks, in the principles of their religion. With the same benevolent design of aiding the interests of religion, he promoted an edition of the *New Testament* in the *Vernacular Greek,* undertaken by *Maximus Calliopolitus,* at the instance of *Cornelius Haga,* the Dutch ambassador at Constantinople, and printed at Geneva in 1638, in 4to. To this edition he wrote a preface, in which he vindicated the propriety of translating the Scriptures into the vulgar tongues, and the right of all persons to read them. With the utmost liberality he also forwarded the designs of Dr. Pocock, and other learned men, who visited Constantinople, in order to acquire a more extensive and accurate knowledge of the languages, customs, and literature of the East.

During his travels, his inquiries had been directed to the disputes between the Romish and Reformed Churches; the result of which had been an attachment to the doctrines and discipline of the latter; he therefore now ventured upon the bold step of printing at Constantinople, a *Confession of the Faith and Doctrines of the Greek church,* dedicated to the English monarch, Charles I. He also conceived the design of reforming the Greek church, and rendering its doctrines and ritual more scriptural. He occasionally attended public worship in the British ambassador's chapel, and even undertook to be godfather to the infant son of Sir Peter Wych, who was named *Cyril,* after the patriarch.

His attachment to the Reformed Church, and correspondence with its learned members, exposed him, however, but too fatally to the machinations of his determined enemies. For nearly 20 years, the Jesuits, aided by the

credit and influence of the French ambassador, perplexed and misrepresented him. In this nefarious business, his adversaries were assisted by the stratagems of some perfidious Greeks, particularly *Cyril, Bishop of Berea*, a man of a dark, malignant, and violent spirit.' Sometimes he was represented as the enemy of Islamism, and his arguments in defence of the divinity of Christ, as blasphemy against Mohammed; at others, as employing the Greek press for the purpose of circulating inflammatory and seditious publications. At one time he was deposed; at another heavily fined; but the influence of the British government, and the exertions of its ambassadors, shielded him from the ultimate designs of his enemies, till the fatal deed was effected by Bairam, a bashaw, in 1638.

Bairam, being a favourite of the Grand Seignior, and bribed for the purpose, took advantage of the Grand Vizier's absence, to persuade the Sultan *Morad*, then on his way to the siege of Bagdat, that the death of CYRIL was necessary for the safety of the state. An order was immediately signed for his execution, and sent to the governor of Constantinople, who apprehended and confined him in one of the castles on the Bosphorus; and afterwards on the 27th of June, delivered him to a band of Janizaries, to execute the sentence of the Sultan. The venerable patriarch was then carried out to the sea, as though he was to be again banished; but scarcely had they quitted the shore, before he perceived they intended to take away his life, and kneeling down, prayed with great fervency and recollection; whilst the Turkish officers inhumanly insulted him, and fastening the bow-string round his neck, strangled him; then stripped him, and threw his body into the sea, which being driven to the shore, was buried by his friends. The rage of his enemies pursued him to the grave, they dug up his corpse, and again cast it into the sea: it was, however, recovered a second time, and buried in a Greek chapel, on a small island over

against the bay of Nicomedia, from whence it was afterwards brought to Constantinople, and decently interred. Such was the end of the great and good CYRIL LUCAR, whose piety and sufferings will endear his memory to distant generations![21]

The valuable *Manuscripts* which enriched the library of Cyril, were, after his death, obtained by the Dutch Resident, who, fearing the attempts of the new patriarch to recover them, sent them away by a ship returning to Holland. The vessel arrived safely at the intended harbour the next day; but, by the violence of an extraordinary storm, sunk there with all its cargo, and was lost. The *Alexandrian MS.* so called from having been brought from Alexandria, will remain a lasting memorial of Cyril's generosity and piety.[22]

The *Autograph*, or original copy of the Septuagint version, was, most probably, consumed in the fire which destroyed the Alexandrian Library, in the time of Julius Cæsar, about 50 years before the Christian era; but the translation was preserved by the numerous transcripts taken for the use of the different synagogues in Egypt, Greece, and Italy, and which were sure to be copied with the utmost accuracy and care. Other copies were also taken for the use of individuals. The Evangelists, and Apostles, and primitive Fathers, made their quotations from this translation; all the Greek churches used it; and the Latins, till the time of Jerom, had no version of the Old Testament, but what had been translated from it; and nearly all the older Oriental versions, as well as several of the Western, are derived from it.

The *Hellenist* Jews, i. e. those who spoke the Greek

(21) Twell's Life of Dr. Edward Pocock, prefixed to his *Works*, pp. 11—13, fol. Lond. 1740.
Bibliotheca Sacra, edit. Masch, pt. ii. vol. II. sec. 2. p. 325.
Account of the Sufferings of Cyrillus Lucaris, in *Arminian Magazine*, XIII. pp. 537. 590.
Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. V. pp. 248, 249, Lond. 1803, 8vo.

(22) Twell's Life of Dr. Pocock, p. 13.

language,* continued the use of this version from the time of its formation, till about 100 years after the Incarnation of our Lord, when they began to disuse it, and formed another for themselves. For as this version grew into use among the Christians, it grew out of credit with the Jews; and they, being pressed in many particulars urged against them out of this version by the Christians, resolved to make a new one that might better serve their purpose. The person who undertook this charge was AQUILA, a native of Sinope, a city of Pontus. He had been brought up an heathen, but becoming a Christian, was excommunicated for addicting himself to magic and judicial astrology; he then turned Jew, got himself admitted into the school of Rabbi Akiba, the most celebrated Jewish teacher of his day, and having made considerable proficiency in Hebrew, was thought sufficient for the translation which he undertook, and published in the year of our Lord 128.[23] Of this version nothing now remains but some scattered fragments; yet it appears from these that the translation was strictly a literal one. Dr. Geddes says, "He is an uncouth, barbarous writer, the Arias Montanus, or Malvenda of his day; who seems to have purposely chosen a servile mode of translating, to hide the malevolence of his views, and to make his strict adherence to the letter of the Hebrew, a plausible pretext for deviating so widely from the old version."[24] It is however, to be regretted, that his translation is lost, as it would have been singularly useful, both for discovering the state of the Hebrew text at that time, and affording the literal meaning and etymology of many words, the signification of which it is now difficult to ascertain. Encouraged by the Jews, Aquila undertook and published a second edition of his version,

* Ελληνες sunt pagani, Ελληνισαι Judæi Græcis Bibliis in Synagogis utentes." *Io. Scaliger* apud *Hody, De Bib. Text. Orig.* p. 221.

(23) Prideaux's Connection, &c. III. pt. ii. B. i.
Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. Lib. iv. p. 573.

(24) Geddes's Prospectus of a New Translation, p. 27, Glasg. 1786, 4to.

accompanied with a commentary, that rendered it still more acceptable to them.

The version of Aquila, was followed by that of THEODOTION, which he published about A. D. 184. This writer is, by some, said to have been born at Sinope, and by others, at Ephesus, and flourished in the time of the Roman Emperor Commodus. He had been first a disciple of Tatian, then a Marcionite, and lastly an Ebionite, or Jew. He altered, added to, or retrenched from the old Alexandrian version, wherever he found it to differ from the Hebrew manuscripts, which the Jews had put into his hands. This device succeeded according to his wish. The Jews were well pleased with his version, because it was conformable to their ideas; and the Christians were not offended, because it so much resembled the Septuagint. In many particular passages, and even in one whole book, that of DANIEL, they preferred it to the Septuagint itself; especially after Origen had made use of it to correct the supposed faults of the latter, in order to make it agree with what he considered, the *Hebrew verity:* hence it is, that much more of this version has been preserved, than of that of Aquila.[25]

At the close of the *second*, or the beginning of the *third* century, SYMMACHUS, a learned Samaritan, but who was become a convert to the Ebionites, whose system was compounded of Judaism and Christianity, published a *fourth* Greek translation, which was highly esteemed by some of the ancient Fathers. This work was accomplished for the use of the Ebionite communion; the style of it was neat and clear, and the whole translation elegant and perspicuous. Not servilely literal, like the version of AQUILA; nor altered from the Septuagint, like that of THEODOTION; his version is a kind of comment, where we often meet with some striking

(25) Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. Lib. iv. pp. 579—585.
Geddes's Prospectus, p. 28.

examples of the theology of his sect.[26]

Besides the Greek versions of the Old Testament, there are three others mentioned by the ancient Fathers, called the *fifth*, *sixth*, and *seventh*; because their respective authors or editors are unknown. They seem to have comprehended only, or chiefly, the *poetical* books of Scripture. All these versions were collated by the indefatigable ORIGEN, in the third century, and placed together with the Septuagint, and the original Hebrew text, in his famous *Hexapla*. In A. D. 1718, *Abraham Tromm*, an aged protestant divine of Groningen, published a most valuable CONCORDANCE to the Septuagint, in 2 volumes folio; to which is annexed a *Lexicon* of all the words contained in the fragments of Origen's Hexapla, published by *Father Montfaucon*, in 1713, in 2 volumes folio.

About 120 years after the completion of the translation of the LAW by the LXX. Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, raised a dreadful persecution against the Jews, suppressed the sacrifices, and all the observances of the Jewish religion; polluted the temple by the most detestable sacrifices and idolatries; carried away the vessels of the sanctuary; and commanded the BOOKS OF THE LAW to be destroyed. Those who secreted any of the *Sacred Books*, were ordered to be put to death. Many of the copies of the Law were burnt; others were torn to pieces, or defiled by having the likenesses of idols painted in them. (1 Maccabees, i. 56, 57; iii. 48.) Mattathias, and his son Judas Maccabæus, roused by the cruelties exercised upon their countrymen, the apostacy of many of the Jews, and the defilement of the temple; displayed extraordinary zeal and valour in defence of their religion and liberty; and were ultimately successful in reforming the worship of the Jews, and re-establishing the ritual of Moses. Several copies of the Law were recovered; and where any of them

(26) Dr. Owen's Enquiry into the present state of Sept. Ver. pp. 109—112 Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. Lib. iv. p. 586.

had been profaned by the idolatrous paintings of the heathens, the paintings were defaced, and the copies permitted to be used. The temple-service was restored, and the LAW, as formerly, read in the synagogues; to which were now added certain portions out of the PROPHETS, which first began to be read in the synagogues, during the persecution, whilst the LAW was forbidden.[27]

The Books called the APOCRYPHA, and appended to our Bibles, are so denominated from the Greek word αποκρυπτω (apokrupto) *to hide,* either because they are of doubtful or hidden authority; or because in the first ages of Christianity, they were not read publicly in the churches, but only permitted to be read privately at home. *Theodotion* has been supposed to be the first person who collected them together; but except by the Romish church they have never been admitted into the Sacred Canon, or collection of authentic and inspired writings. Some of them are highly absurd, and but little superior to the fables of the Talmudists, such are the stories of *Bel and the Dragon; Susannah and the Elders; &c.* Others of them wear more the appearance of authenticity, as the books of the Maccabees, especially the *first* of them. One of the earliest notices of the Apocryphal writings being read in the churches, is about the end of the fourth century, in Jerom's preface to the books written by Solomon. He observes, "that as Judith, Tobit, and the books of Maccabees, were read in some churches, though not received as *canonical,* so the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus might be read for the edification of the people; but not as authority in the doctrines of the church."[28] This judgment of Jerom has been adopted by the *Church of England,* in her sixth article of religion. The popish council of Trent, on the contrary, decreed in 1546, that

(27) 1 Maccabees, ch. ii. 48. iii. 48. iv. 52, 53. 59.
Josephus. Antiq. B. xii. ch. v.—vii.
Millar's (of Paisley) Hist. of the Church, *Works,* III. pp. 349. 354

(28) Bingham's Antiq. of the Chris. Church, VI. B. xiv. ch. iii. p. 433.

several of the *Apocryphal* books, should by the Romish church be received as *canonical.* The Apocryphal books were rejected by the Jews, whose particular glory it was, "that unto them were committed the Oracles of God." (Rom. iii. 2.) And although they frequently made the Word of God of no effect, by the *Traditions* of their Elders, they never placed the writings of their doctors in the canon of Scripture. A brief view of their *academies, doctors of the Law,* and *scribes,* may not be unacceptable to the reader; nor improperly conclude this part of our "Illustrations."

The first notice we have of ACADEMIES, or *public Schools* among the Jews, is in the time of the Prophet Samuel, who has, with some probability been considered as the founder of the *Schools of the Prophets.* These appear to have been places of education, where the most hopeful young persons of the Levites, and the Nazarites out of other tribes, were instructed in religion and morals. Over these colleges, some venerable prophet, at first, presided, from whose mouth the students or scholars, received the inspired dictates of prophecy, and delivered them to the people, when their president was otherwise employed. After the destruction of the first temple, we hear nothing of the *Schools of the Prophets*; but *academies,* or seminaries for instruction in the Law of Moses, were established in various places. Over these certain doctors of the Law presided. *Gamaliel,* the tutor of St. Paul, was one of them. The Jews say, that until the time of Gamaliel, the scholars stood whilst the Law was explained to them; but that afterwards they sat at the feet of the Rabbi who taught them. The author of the commentary which goes under the name of Ambrose, distinguishes the scholars into two classes: "The Rabbins," says he, "are seated on elevated chairs, the older and more learned of the scholars, are placed on benches below them; whilst the junior scholars sit upon mats, on the

ground." (*Ambros.* in 1 Cor. xiv.) The scholars were expected also to hearken in silence, and pay the utmost deference to the instructions of the master. They were never, even in his absence, to call him by his name, but to address him, or speak of him, by some title of honour; they were not to sit in his presence till he bade them, nor afterwards to rise without his permission; whilst sitting they were to behave as in the presence of a king; and when they withdrew, they were to retire without turning their faces from the master; when they walked with him, they were not to step before him, nor to walk at his side, but were to follow him at a respectful distance. Many other similar rules for the conduct of the scholars, may be met with in Maimonides, *De studio legis*, where the subject is treated at large. [29]

In the times preceding the publication of the *Talmud*, the DOCTORS OF THE LAW, were inducted into their office, first by imposition of hands; and then giving into the hands of the candidates, the *Five Books of Moses*, and *a Key*, to show them that they were at liberty to open the mysteries of the Law; and afterwards authorizing them to declare what was lawful, and what unlawful, by saying to each of them, "Take thou liberty to teach what is *bound*, and what is *loose*." Simeon, the son of Hillel, (who is supposed to have taken our Saviour in his arms,) is said to have been the first doctor with a title, and he was called *Rabban*. From his time, titles came into request, and none was more common than *Rabbi*. These distinguishing titles implied *mastership*, *doctorship*, or *principality*, and were in respect and dignity one higher than the other. *Rabbi* was a more excellent name than *Rab*, *Rabban* was more excellent than *Rabbi*; and the simple name, as *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, or *Malachi*, was

(29) Lewis's Hebrew Antiquities, I. B. ii. ch. xv.
Calmet, Dissertation sur les Ecoles des Hebreux.
Maimonides, De Studio Legis, a Rob. Clavering. cap. v. and vi. Oxon. 1705, 4to.

more excellent than *Rabban*. *Rab* was the more proper title of the Babylonian doctors, *Rabbi* of the Judean, and *Rabban* was ascribed to seven men only.[30] And as there were different titles, there were also different orders of doctors. The first and most honourable were the MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE, who flourished in the time of the latter prophets. Amongst these they enumerate Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, Ezra, Nehemiah, Seraiah, Zerubbabel, and Mordecai. From the time of the *men of the great Synagogue*, to the publishing of the Mishna, they were called TANNAIM, or Traditionaries; and are the *Mishnical Doctors*, who are said to have received the *Oral Law*, or Mishna from the prophets, and out of whose traditions and doctrines the *Mishna* was composed. From that time to the publication of the *Babylonish Talmud*, they were called AEMOURAIN, or dictators, because they dictated the explanations or commentaries upon the Mishna, contained in the *Gemara*. For about a hundred years after the publication of the Talmud, they obtained the name of SEBURAIM, or Opinionists, because they only inferred opinions by disputation, and probable arguments, from what had been before dictated, and received in the Mishna and Gemara, and did not advance any peculiar doctrines themselves. After that, they had the appellation of GAONIM, or sublime and excellent doctors, being so called from the excellency and sublimity of their learning. Since then, the general name of *Rabbi*, is that whereby their learned men are distinguished, except that those among them who minister in their synagogues are called CHACAMIM, or Wise Men.[31]

The Jewish SCRIBES, were a body of the most learned

(30) Basnage's History of the Jews, B. v. ch. v. p. 412. Lond. 1708, fol.
Dr. A. Clarke's Comment. on Matthew xviii. 18.
Lewis's Heb. Antiq. I. B. ii, ch. xxii.
Lightfoot's Works, I. Harmony. sec. 52, p. 307. Lond. 1684, fol.

(31) Levi's Ceremonies of the Jews, pp. 240. 246, 276. 302, 310. 8vo.
Lewis, *ut sup.*

men of the nation, and generally of the tribe of Levi, who were distinguished by the title of *Scribes of the Clergy*; those who were not of the Levitical stock, being called *Scribes of the People*; thus distinguishing them from such as were the *private secretaries* of particular men. The business of the lay-scribes was to undertake to copy the Scriptures, for any who desired it; for so great and various is the accuracy and exactness of the Scripture-text, and of such importance that the copies should be correct, that it was deemed improper, to permit the transcription of the Sacred Books, by any but select transcribers. On this account, a particular order of learned men was established among the Jews, whose office it was to guard and preserve the purity of the text in all Bibles that should be copied out, that no corruption might creep into the original of the Sacred Writings; and these were denominated *Scribes of the People.* Those who were men of learning and scholastic education, were likewise employed as public notaries, in the sanhedrims and courts of justice; and as registrars in the synagogues. The scribes therefore, not only transcribed the *books of the Law,* but wrote out the *Phylacteries;* the *Mezuzoth,* or sentences to be affixed to the door-posts; bills of contracts, or divorcements; and other matters of civil or religious concern. Out of these, it is probable, that some of the most accomplished, were made choice of to attend upon the king, as his secretaries, called the *King's Scribes.* To qualify them for these offices, they were entered as students in some public academy, of which there were forty-eight belonging to the tribe of Levi; where they studied till they were accounted capable of these employments.[32]

The office of the *Scribes of the Clergy,* was to preach in public, and to instruct the people, being the most certain and regular interpreters and expounders of the Law in

(32) Lightfoot's Works, I. p. 439.
Lewis's Heb. Antiq. II. ch. xxi.

sermons; and more constant teachers than any other of the clergy. Thus, Ezra was a *ready scribe* in the Law of Moses, both for copying, and preserving pure the text of the Scripture, and also for expounding it by his sermons. (Ezra vii. 6.)

PART II.

FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE INVENTION OF PRINTING.

CHAPTER I.

First, Second, and Third Centuries. Books of New Testament. Autographs of Sacred Writers. Jews in China. Syriac and Latin Versions. John Albert Widmanstadt. William Postel. Carolus Schaaf. Vetus Italica. Thomas Hearne. Peter Sabatier. Sahidic and Coptic Versions. Dr. C. G. Woide. Dr. David Wilkins. Origen. Pamphilus. Eusebius of Cæsarea. Lucian. Hesychius. Bibliomancy. Gymnasia. Libraries. Public Readers. Persecutions. Traditores. Instances of extraordinary memory.

IN THE year of the world 4000, or 4004, JESUS, the CHRIST, i. e. the MESSIAH, appeared amongst men, and became incarnate for us men, and for our salvation. To him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

After the ascension of our Lord, his apostles, or disciples, or their contemporaries, committed to writing the various books which compose the canon of the *New Testament*; and which being written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, are an inestimable compilation of Divine Truths, containing the records of Human Redemption.

It is not easy, perhaps it is impossible, to ascertain with exactness, the different times at which the respective portions of the New Testament were written; but the following *Chronological Arrangement &c.* extracted from Dr. A. Clarke's "Introduction to the Four Gospels, and to the Acts of the Apostles," will probably prove acceptable to the reader:

Chronological Arrangement of the Books of the New Testament; the Places where written, according to Dr. Lardner; and the enumeration of all the Books, Chapters, and Verses.

BOOKS.	Places where written.	Time when written.	Books.	Chapters.	Verses.
THE GOSPELS.					
Matthew	Judea	A. D. 64	1	28	1071
Mark	Rome	—— 64	1	16	678
Luke	Greece	—— 63 or 64	1	24	1151
John	Ephesus	—— 68	1	21	880
Acts	Greece	—— 63 or 64	1	28	1006
ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.					
I. Thessalonians	Corinth	—— 52	1	5	89
II. Thessalonians	Corinth	—— 52	1	3	47
Galatians	Corinth or Ephesus.	—— 52 or 53	1	6	149
I. Corinthians	Ephesus	beginning of 56	1	16	437
I. Timothy	Macedonia	—— 56	1	6	113
Titus	Macedonia or near it.	before the end of 56	1	3	46
II. Corinthians	Macedonia	October, 57	1	13	256
Romans	Corinth	February 58	1	16	434
Ephesians	Rome	April, 61	1	6	155
II. Timothy	Rome	May, 61	1	4	83
Philippians	Rome	End of 62	1	4	104
Colossians	Rome	End of 62	1	4	95
Philemon	Rome	End of 62	1	1	25
Hebrews	Rome or Italy.	Spring of 63	1	13	303
THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.					
James	Judea	—— 61 or 62	1	5	108
I. Peter	Rome	—— 64	1	5	105
II. Peter	Rome	—— 64	1	3	61
I. John	Ephesus	—— 80	1	5	105
II. John	Ephesus	between 80-90	1	1	13
III. John	Ephesus	between 80-96	1	1	15
Jude	Unknown	—— 64 or 65	1	1	25
Apocalypse	Patmos or Ephesus.	—— 95 or 96	1	22	405
		Total.	27	260	7959

ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL is generally allowed to have been written in the Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic language, being designed for the immediate use of the inhabitants

of Palestine. Irenæus, who lived in the second century, expressly says, (Adv. Steres. Lib. iii. ch. i.) that "Matthew, among the Hebrews, wrote a Gospel in their own language, whilst Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome, and founding the church there." Papias, the companion of Polycarp, had still more early affirmed, that "Matthew wrote his Gospel in the Hebrew tongue." "We are fools," says Isaac Vossius, (Praef. App. in Lib. de 70 Interpr.) "if we spend our time in confuting all the idle dreams which trample upon the unanimous testimony of all antiquity, and the authority of all churches, which conspire in assuring us, that the Gospel of St. Matthew was originally written in the Syro-Chaldaic language."[1] This Gospel was afterwards translated into Greek, as we have it at present, in the time of the Apostles; possibly by the Evangelist himself, though some say by St. James, others by St. John; and being approved by them, has always been considered as holding the place of the original; the copies of the Hebrew having been early so corrupted by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, as to destroy all confidence in them.

The EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS also appears to have been written by St Paul in Hebrew, and afterwards to have been translated into Greek by St. Luke according to Clement of Alexandria, (Eusebii H. E. Lib. vi. ch. xiv.) but according to Eusebius, (H. E. Lib. iii. ch. xxxviii.) by Clement of Rome.[2]

Cardinal Baronius, in his "Annales Ecclesiastici," has attempted to prove, that St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Latin. This hypothesis, so contrary to the testimony of antiquity, is, however, universally exploded. The arguments by

(1) Those who wish to be fully acquainted with the controversy, respecting the language in which St. Matthew's Gospel was originally written, may consult Marsh's Michaelis, III. pt. i. ch. iv. sec. 3—9. Dr. Campbell's Preface to Matthew's Gospel, in his excellent Translation of the Four Gospels; and Simon's Histoire Critique du Texte du N. T. ch. v. vi. vii. viii. See also Butler's Lives of the Saints, IX. pp. 284, 285, note.
(2) Marsh's Michaelis, IV. ch. xxiv. sec. 9—12.

which he endeavoured to support his opinion, were, the Subscriptions of certain Syriac Manuscripts, and the supposed *Autograph* of St. Mark preserved at Venice; but it is well known that no dependance can be placed on such subscriptions in general, and in particular that the subscriptions of a version made in the East immediately from the Greek, can be of no authority in regard to the language in which St. Mark wrote in Rome.[3]

The pretended *Autograph* of St. Mark's Gospel, kept in St Mark's treasury in Venice, is written upon paper made of cotton (Charta Bombycina) of a faded green colour, and forms a thin square volume, covered with plates of silver gilt. The dampness of the place, long ago rendered the writing nearly illegible, and caused the leaves to cling together, so that they could scarcely be separated without tearing. The illegibility of the writing occasioned Misson, an eminent lawyer, to affirm that it was written in Greek, but more accurate observations have proved it to be Latin; and written in the sixth century. It was conveyed from Aquileia to Venice, in the fifteenth century. The emperor Charles IV. in 1355, obtained from Aquileia, through his brother Nicholas, the Patriarch of that city, the last eight leaves, which are kept at Prague:* and on receipt of which, a testimonial was given in Latin, of which the following is a translation.

'I CHARLES the IV. by the grace of God, king of the 'Romans, always august, and King of Bohemia, saw 'the book of *St. Mark's Gospel*, written with his own 'hand, entire from the beginning to the end, in seven

(3) Simon, Hist. Critique du N. T. ch. xi.
Marsh's Michaelis, III. ch. v. sec. 8.
Kortholtus. De variis S. S. Editionibus, cap. vii. 3, 4. Kilon. 1668 4to.

* Michaelis (Vol. III. pt. i. ch. v. p. 226.) says, the two quaternions, or quires, contained 16 leaves, but this is probably an error for *pages*, since the Baron De la Tour, remarks, in his letters inserted in Montfaucon's Journey through Italy, (Diarium Italicum) that a quaternion was the size of the fourth part of a sheet; two sheets or quaternions, would therefore be 8 leaves or 16 pages.

'quires, in the custody of the Patriarch of the church 'of Aquileia; which book was preserved in the said 'church by the blessed Hermagoras, and by the said 'church of Aquileia to this day; which said blessed 'Hermagoras received that book from the hands of St. 'Peter; and also from St. Peter, at the request, and by 'the resignation of St. Mark, had the prelateship of the 'said church of Aquileia; of which book, upon my re- 'quest to the Patriarch and Chapter of the said 'church of Aquileia, I obtained these *two* last quires of 'the aforesaid book; and the other *five* going before 'them, remained in the aforesaid church; and this I 'writ with my own hand, in the year of the incar- 'nation 1355, on the eve of All Saints, the ninth of my 'reign.'[4]

The fragment now kept at Prague was published by Joseph Dobrowsky, in 1778, in 8vo. under the title "Fragmentum Pragense Evangelii S. Marci vulgo autographi." And from a Letter by Laurentius a Turre, printed in Blanchini's "Evangeliorum Quadruplex," pt. ii. p. 543, it appears, that the manuscript of St. Mark's Gospel was brought to Venice from Friuli, the ancient Forum Julii, where a very ancient Latin MS. containing the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John is still preserved; and consequently that the twenty leaves at Venice, with the last eight leaves at Prague, making the whole Gospel of St. Mark, complete the Foro-julian MS. which contains the oldest copy of Jerom's version of the Gospels; and has been published by Blanchini in his "Evangeliorum Quadruplex," printed at Rome, in 1748.[5]

The claims of the Venetian MS. being disproved, it will be granted that none of the *Autographa*, or original manu-

(4) Montfaucon's Journey through Italy, pp. 75, 76. Lond. 1712, 8vo.
(5) Marsh's Michaelis, III. pt. i. ch. v. sec. 8.
Butler's Lives of the Saints, IV. p. 272. Edinburgh, 1798, 8vo.
See also Calmet, Dissert. sur l'Evangile de S. Marc.

ed, principally, to the dreadful persecutions which raged against the Christians in the early ages, and to the exertions of their barbarous persecutors to destroy all their Sacred Books;—a loss from which has arisen the necessity of collecting and collating manuscripts of the original Greek, and of the different early versions: a measure which has been pursued with much laudable industry and perseverance, especially in modern times; and which has completely proved the general accuracy of our present copies.

Transcriptions of the different parts of the New Testament, were, however, very early made, and circulated among the Christian churches; and soon after the death of the Apostles, began to be collected into volumes. But so cautious were the first Christians not to receive any writings as *inspired* without the most indubitable evidence, that it was not till after a considerable lapse of time, that the Epistle to the Hebrews, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third Epistles of St. John, the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, and the Revelation of St. John, were admitted into the sacred canon.

During the *first century*, a colony of JEWS settled in CHINA, whom bishop Walton has slightly noticed in the Prolegomena to his Polyglott Bible; (Proleg. iii. § 41.) but of whom, the best account will be found in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. III. p. 567, *et seq.* from which the subsequent statement is chiefly extracted. Gabriel Brotier obtained his information from the manuscript letters of certain Jesuits, who were sent, at the close of the seventeenth, or commencement of the eighteenth century, by the Roman Catholic church, as missionaries to the Chinese nation; and who were requested to prosecute every possible inquiry into the state, customs, religious opinions, and sacred books of the Jews, in China. From these sources the celebrated editor of Tacitus learned, that the ancestors of the present Chinese Jews settled in China during the dynasty of Han, in the reign of Ming-ti, and

scripts of the New Testament are now in existence, though there is evidence, that, at least, some of them were for many years carefully preserved among the ancient Christian churches. Tertullian, who flourished at the close of the second, and the commencement of the third century, refers to many *Autographa*, as still extant. See his treatise "De Præscriptionibus," § 36. "If you will indulge your curiosity," says he, "and give it both an useful and extensive range, in the affair of your salvation, be pleased to take a view of, and run over the apostolic churches, where the chairs of the apostles do now preside in their respective places; where their authentic and original epistles, (authenticæ literæ,) the very images of their voice and person, are now recited and exhibited. Do you live in Achaia? There is Corinth. Are you not far removed from Macedonia? You have Philippi and Thessalonica? Are you nigh unto Asia? There is Ephesus. Or if you border upon Italy, there is Rome."

Peter an Alexandrian bishop of the fourth century says, "The Gospel of the Evangelist John, written with his own hand, is, by Divine goodness, still preserved in the most holy church of the Ephesians, where it is held in veneration by the believers."[6]

Frickius supposes, that the *Autographa* were preserved by the primitive Christians, in their Archives, or *Tabularia Sacra*, and not suffered to be generally read, lest they should be injured by the frequent handling of the readers; and conceives that Ignatius refers to these Archives in his Epistle to the Philadelphians § 8. when he says "I have heard some persons say, If I find it not (εν τοις αρχαιοις,) or rather (εν τοις αρχειοις,) in the Archives, I believe it not." Usher Dodwell, and others have adopted the same opinion.[7] The final loss of the Autographs, is probably to be attribut-

(6) Frickii Commentatio de cura Ecclesiæ Veteris circa canonem Sacræ Scripturæ, cap. iv. sec. 5. p. 130, 4to. Ulm. 1728.

(7) Frickius, *ubi sup.*

in the year of our Lord 73, two years before the death of Ming-ti, and three years before the destruction of Jerusalem. They appear to have emigrated from Persia, and to have consisted of at least seventy sings, or families, (viz. all those who are of the same origin, equivalent to the term *house*, as made use of by the translators of the authorized English Version). In the last century only seven families remained, amounting to about six hundred persons. For a long time after their settlement in China, their affairs were in a flourishing state, so that many became eminent for their attainments, especially in Chinese literature; others were dignified with the offices of state, others became rulers of provinces, and some were even advanced to the rank of Mandarins. Their principal residences were Nimpo, Ning-hia, Ham-tcheon, Peking, and Cai-fong-fou. The affairs of the Jews gradually declining many of them became the followers of Mohammed, so that the Jews of Cai-fong-fou, the capital of the province Honan, and about 150 leagues from Pekin, are now the only ones known and acknowledged. In the year of our Lord, 1446, their synagogue was destroyed by an inundation of the river Ho-ang-ho; and again by fire at the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Ouan-li, who governed from A. D. 1573, to A. D. 1620; and a third time by a flood in A. D. 1642. It was then rebuilt, and still exists.

These Jews are called by the Chinese, Hoei-Hoei; a name given to them in common with the Mohammedans; but they call themselves Tiao-Kin-Kiao, that is, the law of those who cut out the sinews, because they cut away the sinews and veins, that they may abstain from blood. Their synagogue is large, and magnificent. The most sacred part of the synagogue is the Bethel, or house of God. It is square on the outside, and circular within. In this Bethel, on the top of thirteen tables, thirteen ta-kings, that is, thirteen rolls of the Law, or Pentateuch,

are placed; and each roll is covered with silk. At the very end of the temple or synagogue, behind Bethel, the tables of the Law are conspicuously written in Hebrew characters of gold; and on both sides of the tables, are repositories, in which are kept the books which the Jews commonly use.

By the term, *ta-king*, which signifies the great writing, the Chinese Jews solely designate the Pentateuch. Every ta-king is written upon long Chinese paper, many leaves of which are glued together, to make the paper thicker, and to cause it to turn more readily round the central stick of the roll. Every roll contains the whole Law, without any distinction of books, chapters, or verses, but divided into fifty-three sections. In these rolls there are no vowel points, nor the distinctive letters of the sections, either single or triple; and only the space of one line intervenes between them. When the Jews of China were asked why there were no *points* in their ta-kings, they replied, that the Law was so rapidly dictated by God, that Moses had not time to affix the points. They affirm, that the points were afterwards added by the doctors of the West.

A roll of the ta-king, compactly wound round its stick, is about two feet high: its diameter rather exceeds the measure of a foot. One of these ta-kings, being very ancient, is held in the highest estimation. According to the representation of the Chinese Jews, to father Ricci, the most ancient MS. of the Jews, in China, was about six hundred years old, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and therefore about eight hundred years old at present. When the synagogue at Cai-fong-fou was burnt, and the books destroyed, in the reign of the emperor Ouan-li, this copy of the Pentateuch, was obtained from a Mohammedan, whom the Jews met with in the city Ninghia, in the province Chen-si. This Mohammedan had received it from a Jew at the point of death, in the

city of Canton, who committed it to him as a precious treasure of antiquity and religion. This roll is now held in very great veneration, because their other ta-kings have been copied from it; and because it was preserved in the second inundation, which happened in the year of our Lord 1642; of which calamity it now bears many marks.

Among the books in their repositories are many copies of the Law, that is, of the five books of Moses. The whole of the Law is not contained entire in any one book; for every section completes a book; it is therefore necessary to have fifty-three of these books to possess the whole Law. These books are 4 or 5 inches high, and about 7 inches broad; they are written in larger letters than the ta-kings, and seldom have more than ten lines in a page. They consist only of a few leaves, rendered thicker by two or three being glued together; for the Jews never size with alum the thin paper of the Chinese, to enable them to write on both sides of it. Each of these books has a square mark about the middle of the first page, in which the first word of the book or section is written, without vowel points; and which is ornamented with silk; or with the colours green, blue, or white. The pages are marked at the top with the numerals, in words at full length, in the inward, and not according to our custom, in the outward margin. The sections of the Law are the same as in our Bibles; except that they connect our fifty-second and fifty-third sections together; hence we reckon fifty-four sections, and they only fifty-three.

The Jews of China are not acquainted with our distinction of Keri and Ketib; though in their books there are some letters larger, and some smaller than the usual size. In the books kept in their repositories they use the vowel points and accents, as well as some other marks of distinction, peculiar to themselves; and the number of verses of which every book or section consists, is placed at the end of it.

Beside the Law of Moses, they have other books in their repositories, which they denominate San-tso, a word signifying supplementary and distinct books, and which contain certain imperfect parts of several of the historical and prophetical books; but among them are no portions whatsoever of the books of Proverbs, Job, the Songs of Solomon, or Ecclesiastes; nor of the books of the Prophets Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, or Malachi; and of the book of the prophet Daniel they possess only a few verses of the first chapter. They have also one copy, which they greatly prize, of the two books of the Maccabees, which they name Manthiochium, or Mathathies. They have also in the same repositories, a book of ceremonies or prayers, &c. arranged for all the sabbaths and festivals throughout the year, almost all of them taken from the Scriptures, and chiefly from the Psalms. In these repositories they have, lastly, some books, ill arranged, which they term in the Chinese language, Tiang-tchang, or the Interpreters.

These Chinese Jews are, in general, very ignorant of the Hebrew language; for, although by constant study, they, for the most part, understand the Five Books of Moses, they are not so skilful in reading their other books. They excuse their ignorance by saying, that they have a long time ago lost their Tou-king-puen, or grammatical books; and that for some centuries they have seen no Jew from Si-yu, that is to say, from the West. To their Sacred Books they pay so much reverence, that they seldom, or never keep them at home, but lodge them in the repositories of the Li-pai-se, or temple; yet this apparent veneration is nothing more than a mere superstitious practice, for when any one has copied, or caused to be copied, the books of the Law, and has placed them in the Li-pai-se, he deems himself to have discharged all the duties of religion; and sometimes never afterwards makes his appearance in the synagogue.

In copying the Sacred Books, the Chinese Jews es-

teem it an act of impiety to make use of either Chinese pencils or Chinese ink; for this purpose therefore they cut a reed, called bamboo, into pens; and use very black ink, prepared after the European manner, in the beginning of the year, immediately after the Feast of Tabernacles; and which they keep with great care throughout the year. When the Law is read in the synagogue, the roll of the ta-king is placed in the chair of Moses; and as it is unrolled, a Jew, covered with a blue cap, and having a cotton or fustian cloth spread over his head, reads it aloud, or rather sings it, in a manner similar to that of the Jews of Italy: a monitor stands close to the reader, and corrects him when he errs. On the twenty-fourth day of their seventh month, they celebrate the Feast of the Law, when they carry about their thirteen manuscripts of the ta-king, in solemn procession; and on which occasion the Tchang-kiao, or ruler of the synagogue, wears a remarkable silk scarf, of a red colour, hanging from the right shoulder, and brought under the left, and there fixed by a knot.

Fathers Gozeni, Domege, and Gaubil, were desirous of collating the Hebrew Bible, with the books of the Li-paise, and more especially the entire Pentateuch, with the ta-kings preserved in the Bethel of the synagogue; but the prejudiced opinions of the Chinese Jews always prevented their desire, since it appeared to them impious to trust their books to men who ate black flesh, for so they termed swine's flesh. An expectation was indulged some years afterwards, (A. D. 1768,) by Dr. Kennicott, that books might be obtained from the repositories, either by exchange, or money. A copy of the Hebrew Bible, printed at Amsterdam, by Vander Hooght, was offered to them, which they praised exceedingly, at first, on account of the beauty and thickness of the paper, and the compact binding of the book; but afterwards despised it, and would not so much as supply from it the deficiencies of their

own books. Money, however, had more weight with them; and one of them named Naai-ven had already promised that he would take his copy of the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, from the Li-pai-se, and sell it at a stated price, But, as soon as he had secretly conveyed it away, he was discovered, and severely reprimanded; for there is an ancient proverb, well known amongst them, that "He who sells his Sacred Books, sells his God." Another Jew, named Cao-ting, who made the same promise, went to the ruler of the synagogue, and redemanded the books of the Law, sumptuously written, which he had received from his uncle, when at the point of death, and which he had recently deposited in the Li-pai-se; but instead of obtaining them, he was severely rebuked, and sent away with ignominy. Thus every effort hitherto made to obtain possession of the books of the Chinese Jews, has completely failed.[8]

Quitting for the present the colony of Jews in China, and again directing our views Westward, we perceive the invaluable doctrines of Christianity rapidly extending their benign influences on every side; so that not only *transcripts* of the Sacred Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, are multiplied, to aid the private devotions, or the public worship of those who understand the original tongues, but TRANSLATIONS are made into various languages, for the accommodation of those who cannot read the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, or who read them with difficulty. Within the *first two centuries* of the Christian era, the whole, or parts of the Sacred Writings were translated into the SYRIAC and LATIN, two of the most ancient versions of the New Testament, one of which was spread throughout Europe, and the North of Africa; the other propagated from Edessa to China. This ancient SYRIAC

(8) See the translation of the whole of G. Brotier's account of the Chinese Jews in *Jewish Expositor*, I. No. 3, 4. for 1816. Kennicotti Dissertatio Generalis, p. 65. fol.

Translation is usually called the *Peshito*, or literal, or correct and faithful version; and is thus distinguished from the more modern versions, especially the one made under the patronage of Philoxenus, in A. D. 508, and from him denominated the *Philoxenian* version. The Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, in his late tour through British India, to examine into the state of Christianity, was presented, by the Syrian bishop in Argamalee, with a most valuable Syriac manuscript, which had been deposited in one of the remote churches, near the mountains. It was supposed to have been preserved for near a thousand years. "It contains the Old and New Testaments, engrossed on strong vellum, in large folio, having three columns in a page; and is written with beautiful accuracy. The character is Estrangelo-Syriac; and the words of every book are *numbered*. But the volume has suffered injury from time or neglect. In certain places the ink has been totally obliterated from the page, and left the parchment in its state of natural whiteness: but the letters, can in general, be distinctly traced from the impress of the pen, or from the partial corrosion of the ink."[9] It is now deposited with other Syriac manuscripts, in the public library of the University of Cambridge.

The *Peshito* version was first made known to Europe, by Moses of Marden, in Mesopotamia, a Maronite Priest, who was sent by Ignatius, Patriarch of the Maronite Christians at Antioch, to pope Julius III. to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff; and to obtain the printing of the Syriac New Testament, that it might be more generally dispersed through the East. For the purpose of facilitating the latter design, he brought with him *two* Syriac MSS; which appear not to have been duplicates of the whole Syriac Testament, but two different volumes, the one containing the Gospels; the other the Acts and the Epistles. One of them containing the Gos-

(9) Buchanan's Christian Researches, p. 129. Edin. 1812, 8vo.

pels, said to have been written at Mosul, on the Tigris, is still preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. For some time no one could be found to undertake a work, which would not only be very expensive, but also require much judgment and care to execute correctly; but at length Albert Widmanstadt, who had formerly projected the same design, prevailed with the emperor Ferdinand I. to be at the expense of an undertaking so likely to prove advantageous to the church in general, and to the churches of Asia in particular. The care of the impression was committed to Widmanstadt, and Moses of Marden, who were assisted, particularly in the formation of the matrices for the types, by William Postel. This edition was completed, and neatly printed at Vienna, in 1555, in two volumes 4to. It wants, however, the two last Epistles of St. John, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the Epistle of St. Jude, and the Revelation of St. John, which appear not to have been received into the sacred canon so early as the period when the translation was first made. A thousand copies were printed, of which, the emperor reserved to himself five hundred for sale, sent three hundred to the two Syrian Patriarchs, and made a present to Moses of two hundred copies, together with twenty dollars; these copies Moses disposed of by sale, prior to his return to Syria. This rare and valuable edition is considered as a perfect pattern of the genuine *Peshito*. The character of it by Michaelis, is too interesting to be omitted. "The *Peshito*," says he, "is the very best translation of the Greek Testament that I have ever read; that of Luther, though in some respects inferior to his translation of the Old Testament, holding the second rank. Of all the Syriac authors with which I am acquainted, not excepting Ephrem and Bar Hebræus, its language is the most elegant and pure, not loaded with foreign words, like the Philoxenian version, and other later writings, and discovers the hand of a master in rendering those passages, where the two

idioms deviate from each other. It has no marks of the stiffness of a translation, but is written with the ease and fluency of an original; and this excellence of style must be ascribed to its antiquity, and to its being written in a city, (Edessa,) that was the residence of Syrian kings. It is true that the Syriac version, like all human productions, is not destitute of faults, and, what is not to be regarded as a blemish, differs frequently from the modern modes of explanation: but I know of none that is so free from error, and none that I consult with so much confidence, in cases of difficulty and doubt."[10]

This version is supposed to have been made at Edessa, where Abgarus, to whom certain spurious epistles have been ascribed, as passing between him and Jesus Christ, reigned from the eighth year after the birth of our Lord, to the year 45. He is also said to have built there a Christian church, in the form of a temple, with a row of steps leading to the holy place; from whence the custom of erecting churches in the form of temples, was communicated to the christian countries in Europe. Of the translator of this version, we have no certain knowledge. By the Syrians themselves, it has been asserted, that part of the *Old Testament* was translated in the time of Solomon, for the use of Hiram, king of Tyre, and the rest under Abgarus, king of Edessa, by Thaddeus, or one of the apostles. But whoever was the translator, there is internal evidence that the Old Testament was translated subsequent to the New, and therefore probably not translated by the same person.[11]

The first printed edition of the *Syriac Old Testament*, was that by Le Jay, in the celebrated Polyglott of Paris, in 1645. The editors of the first printed edition of the *Syriac New Testament*, were, as we have already noticed,

(10) Marsh's Michaelis, II. part i. sec. ii—vi. pp. 4—33, 40, 41.

(11) Marsh's Michaelis, *ubi sup.*
Calmet, Dictionaire de la Bible;—*Bible en Syriaque, Thadée.*
Simon Hist. Critique du V. T. Liv. ii. ch. xv.

Albert Widmanstadt, Moses of Marden, and William Postel.

JOHN ALBERT WIDMANSTADT, or WIDIMANSTADTER, Chancellor of Germany, under Ferdinand I. was a native of Nalinga, in the district of Ulm, in the circle of Suabia. He acquired the first rudiments of learning under George Bauler; and at thirteen years of age began to study the Greek tongue, under the famous Reuchlin, or Capnio, and afterwards attended the lectures of James Jonas, at Tubingen. His knowledge of the Syriac language was obtained after his entrance upon public life, and was occasioned by a singular occurrence, thus related in his preface to the Syriac New Testament. Accompanying the court of Charles V. to Bologna, in 1529, he lodged in a house adjoining a monastery, where *Theseus Ambrosius*, a learned and aged civilian, then resided. One day visiting the monastery, he accidentally met a venerable old man, whom he courteously saluted. It was Theseus himself, who entering into conversation with him, and learning his desires to examine the literary treasures of the house, readily undertook to assist him. Having conducted Widmanstadt into the library, Theseus opened the doors of one of the book-cases, and taking out a Syriac MS. of the Gospels, said with a sigh; "My friend! I have for fifteen years devoted myself to these studies, and have loved them hitherto without a rival. But how earnestly do I wish that I could meet with some one of a prompt and ready genius, who would be willing to acquire from one whose days are nearly ended, and would transmit to others, the knowledge of a language consecrated by the holy lips of Jesus Christ." Widmanstadt professed himself to be ready to undertake the task, and as far as opportunity would permit him, to endeavour to fulfil the desire of the good old man, if he would afford him his assistance in acquiring the language. Theseus accordingly instructed him during his stay at Bologna, so that by indefatigable

application, he soon became a proficient in the Syriac tongue, in which he was afterwards perfected by Simeon, bishop of the Syrians of Mount Libanus. In 1533, he met with a copy of the Syriac Gospels, in one of the Continental libraries, which he transcribed; and being at Rome, was desirous of printing it under the auspices of Pope Clement VII, but was prevented by the decease of that Pontiff. When in Italy, he assumed the name of *Johannes Lucretius*.

After the death of Clement, Widmanstadt returned into Germany. On his journey, meeting with Cardinal Pole, who himself had translated the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* out of Hebrew into Latin, and who was then going as the Pope's Legate, to England, he was persuaded to interest himself in the printing of the Syriac Testament. His exertions were successful, and produced the rare and beautiful edition of 1555. He died about A. D. 1559. After his death, his library was purchased by the duke of Bavaria.[12]

William Postel, was born of obscure parents, in the province of Normandy. Possessing a genius naturally suited to study, and being ardently desirous of acquiring knowledge, he conquered the various difficulties which opposed themselves to his success, and finally became one of the most eminent linguists of the sixteenth century, and Regius Professor of the mathematics and languages, in the university of Paris.

Led by desire to see the world, he quitted France, and travelled into the East, visiting Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and other famous cities. Whilst in the East, he was employed by Francis I. to procure Ori-

(12) Le Long. Biblioth. Sacra, ed. Masch, pt. ii. vol. I. sec. 4. pp. 74, 75. Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. ch. vii. sec. 2. pp. 8, 9.
Freheri Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum, pt. i. sec. 2. p. 38. Noriberg. 1688. fol.
Schelhornii Amœnitates Literariæ, Tom. XIII. pp. 223—240. Francfort and Leips. 1730, 12mo.

ental MSS. for the Royal Library, and executed his commission in a manner highly satisfactory to his royal master.

Returning to Venice, after an absence of sixteen years, he unfortunately adopted several singular and mystical opinions, which being deemed heretical and dangerous by the magistrates, he was obliged to escape into Germany, where he resided for some time at the Court of Ferdinand; but abjuring his errors, was permitted to return to France. He, however, returned to his former opinions, and by a decree of the Parliament, was banished to the monastery of St. Martin, where he died at a very advanced age, A. D. 1581.[13]

"The very best edition of the Syriac New Testament is undoubtedly that of Leyden, published by *Schaaf* in 1709, and reprinted in 1717. The very excellent Lexicon which is annexed to it, will ever retain its value, being, as far as regards the New Testament, extremely accurate and complete, and supplying in some measure the place of a Concordance."[14]

CAROLUS SCHAAF, who was a native of Holland, and Teacher of the Oriental Languages, was assisted in the former part of this edition, by the celebrated Leusden, Professor of Hebrew at Utrecht, who died in 1699, when the work was printed as far as Luke xv. 20. Schaaf died in 1729.

The old LATIN translations which were made prior to the time of Jerom, have received the common denomination of *Vetus Italica*, or ancient Italic version. The revised translation of Jerom is distinguished by the term *Vulgate*. Dr. Mills (Proleg. p. 41, &c.) conjectures, that a translation was made in the second century. Au-

(13) Freheri Theatrum Viror. Clar. pt. iv. pp. 1474, 1475.
Leigh's (Edward) Treatise of Religion and Learning, p. 298, fol.
Postelli Absconditorum e Constit. Mundi Clavis. edit. Franc. de Monte S. pp. 110—118. Amster. 1646, 24mo.

(14) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. ch. vii, sec. 2. p. 17.

gustus, who lived in the fourth century, thus states the origin of the ancient Latin versions. In his treatise *De Doctrina Christiana*, Lib ii. cap. xi. he says, "The number of those who have translated the Scriptures from the Hebrew into the Greek, may be computed; but the number of those who have translated the Greek into the Latin cannot. For immediately upon the first introduction of Christianity, if a person got possession of a Greek manuscript, and thought he had any knowledge of the two languages, he set about translating the Scriptures." In another part of his works, Lib. ii. cap. xv. he observes further, "*in ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris præferatur, nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ.* Amongst the translations themselves, the Italic is to be preferred, because the most literal and perspicuous."[15]

These high terms of commendation have raised a general wish that the *Vetus Italica*, should be discovered and published. The first publication of the kind was that of FLAMINIUS NOBILIUS, printed at Rome in 1588, in one volume folio, under the auspices of Sixtus V. In 1695, Dom MARTIANAY published at Paris, in octavo, what he supposed was the *Vetus Italica* of the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, and of the *Epistle of St. James*, beside the books of *Job* and *Judith*. To these was added, in 1715, the *Acts of the Apostles*, printed at Oxford, in a fac simile edition of a Greek and Latin MS. of the seventh century, preserved amongst the Laudian MSS. in the Bodleian Library. The editor was the famous antiquary, THOMAS HEARNE, who printed only 120 copies, by which means the edition is become extremely scarce. This was the first *fac simile* edition ever printed. A copy of it is in the Collegiate Library, in Manchester.

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(15) Millii Proleg. fol. xli.
Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, I. pp. 181—185. Lond. 12mo.
Mosheim's Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians, translated by R. S. Vidal, Esq. II. p. 33. Note. Lond. 1813, 8vo.

THOMAS HEARNE, M. A. the editor of this valuable edition of the "Acts of the Apostles," and the indefatigable collector and editor of ancient books and manuscripts, particularly of our old *Chronicles*, was the son of George Hearne, parish clerk of White Waltham, in Berkshire, in which parish he was born, in 1678. Having but little opportunity for learning, and his father being poor, he was, at an early age, obliged to earn his subsistence as a day-labourer. Happily for him, his abilities were discovered and fostered by Francis Cherry, Esq. in whose house he had lived as a menial servant; but who, on perceiving his talents, placed him at the free school of Bray, in his native county, and afterwards educated him as his son. In 1695, he was entered of Edmund-hall, Oxford. Dr. Mill, the principal of the college, soon marked the bent of his studies, and employed him as his assistant in the laborious task of collating MSS. for his edition of the Greek Testament. Dr. Grabe also availed himself of his useful talents, in transcribing and collating various old MSS. In 1699, he took his Bachelor's degree, which was soon followed by a proposal from his tutor, Dr. White Kennet, to go to Maryland, as one of Dr. Bray's missionaries; but this proposal, not according with his views, was declined, and in a short time he obtained the situation of assistant to Dr. Hudson, the librarian of the Bodleian Library. In 1703, he took his Master's degree. In 1715 he was appointed Archetypographus of the University, and Esquire-Beadle of the civil law. These offices he soon after resigned, because of his objections to take the oaths to government, being in political principles a Jacobite. From the same conscientious motive he refused several other advantageous preferments. The latter part of his life was devoted to the study of antiquities, and the editing and re-publishing of numerous curious antiquarian works. He died at Oxford, June 10th, 1735. His taste for those researches, which formed the business of his life, was seen at a very early period; for when he had

only attained the knowledge of the alphabet, he was continually poring over the old tomb-stones in the churchyard. But nothing can more correctly characterize this plain and laborious man, than the following *Thanksgiving* found among his papers, after his decease: "O most gracious and merciful Lord God, wonderful in thy providence, I return all possible thanks to thee, for the care thou hast always taken of me. I continually meet with most signal instances of this thy providence, and one act yesterday, when I unexpectedly met with *three old MSS.* for which, in a particular manner, I return my thanks, beseeching thee to continue the same protection to me, a poor helpless sinner, and that for Jesus Christ his sake."[16]

Celebrated editions of the *Old Italic*, were also edited by BLANCHINI, and SABATIER. The most important and magnificent one is that of the Four Gospels, by F. JOSEPH BLANCHINI, of Verona, a priest of the Oratory, taken from five genuine manuscripts of this version, or more properly from four copies of this version, one of them containing only the corrected version of Jerom. It was printed at the expense of John V. king of Portugal, at the instigation of Cardinal Carsini, and was published by order of pope Benedict XIV. who was highly valued by the Protestant, as well as by the Roman church. The title of this work, which consists of two parts, forming four volumes, is, "Evangeliorum Quadruplex Latinæ versionis antiquæ, seu Italicæ, nunc primum in lucem editum ex codicibus manuscriptis aureis, argenteis, purpureis, aliisque, plusquam millennariæ ætatis sub auspiciis Joannis V. regis fidelissimi Lusitaniæ, a Josepho Blanchino. Anno Domini CIↃ IↃ CCXLVIII." The four MSS. made use of for this edition were found at Corbie, Vercelli, Brescia, and Verona. That from Vercelli is said to be in the hand-writing of Eusebius, bishop of that city, and martyr. The fifth MS. which is taken from Jerom's cor-

(16) Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dictionary, XVII. pp. 275—284.

rected edition, is the Codex Foro-juliensis. Till Dr. Kennicott's Collation appeared, Blanchini's work was considered as the most splendid that had issued from the press during the eighteenth century. The beauty and largeness of the types, the great number of learned treatises, and the copper-plates with which it is ornamented, make the work so very expensive, that it is seldom to be found in private libraries.[17]

While Blanchini was engaged in preparing the "Evangeliorum Quadruplex," P. SABATIER published at Rheims, in three large volumes folio, his "Bibliorum sacrorum Latinæ versiones antiquæ, seu vetus Italica. 1743." Of which a new edition was published in 1749-1751. To the third volume of the first edition, which contains the New Testament, a memoir of Sabatier is prefixed, he having died before its completion. The following brief account of him is extracted from it.

PETER SABATIER was born at Poictiers, in France, in 1682. At an early age he removed to Paris, where he studied in the Mazarine College under the most celebrated professors. As soon as he had attained the years prescribed by the ecclesiastical laws, he determined to assume the religious habit; and accordingly enrolled himself under the standard of St. Benedict, and took the vows upon him in the neighbouring monastery of St. Faro, bishop of Meaux. That he might more successfully pursue his theological studies, he entered into the congregation of St. Maur, in the monastery of St. Germain, the scene of the labours of Mabillon, Ruinart, and other learned men, by whose example and friendship he was stimulated to those literary exertions which have given celebrity to his name. His friendship for Ruinart, in particular, led him to become first the associate with Ruinart, and after his

(17) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. ch. vii. sec. 22. pp. 109, 110, &c. and ch. viii. p. 274.
Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, I. pp. 183, 184.

decease, the continuator of the "Annalium Benedictorum."

In 1727, he quitted Paris, and went to Rheims, where he commenced, carried on, and nearly completed his celebrated edition of the *Vetus Italica*, or Italic version. This undertaking was for some time suspended, by his being delegated to form the Catalogue of the Library belonging to the Abbey of St. Nicasius, which having executed in a masterly manner, and accompanied with an excellent index, he returned to his favourite design, and pursued the arrangement and collation of the manuscripts requisite for his work, with the most indefatigable diligence; and after having devoted many years to this object, he succeeded in printing the first volume, and preparing the other portions for the press, from which the second volume was about to issue, when the fatal disease seized him which terminated his useful life, after an illness of fifteen days, borne with the most pious resignation, March 22nd. 1742. In stature, he was of the middle size; in conversation, affable and cheerful; sometimes enlivened by wit; his countenance mild and open, but inclined to melancholy. Study and prayer were his delight; prayer softening and solacing the severity of study.[18]

In 1793, a fac-simile edition of a very ancient Greek and Latin Manuscript of the *Gospels* and *Acts of the Apostles*, was published in a magnificent folio, at Cambridge, by Dr. THOMAS KIPLING. This MS. is usually denominated the *Codex Bezæ*, from the donor of it, or *Codex Cantabrigiensis*, from belonging to the University of Cambridge. It was obtained, by the reformer Beza, from the Monastery of St. Irenæus in Lyons, where it had lain covered with dust for many years, till discovered during the civil wars in 1562; and, in 1581, was presented by him to the University of Cambridge, which, in 1787, came to the resolution of printing the whole MS. in letters

(18) Bib. sac. Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ, *Lectori Benevolo*, pp. xxviii, xxix. Tom. III. Remis. 1743, fol.

of the same form and magnitude as the original hand writing, and accordingly committed the publication of it to Dr. Kipling.[19]

At a very early age of Christianity, the Scriptures were translated also into the *Egyptian* Language, including the dialects both of Upper and Lower Egypt; the former called SAHIDIC, the latter COPTIC. The *Sahidic* Version is supposed to be as old as the *second* century. Several manuscripts, or rather fragments of manuscripts, of this version, are preserved in the libraries of Rome, Paris, Oxford, Berlin, and Venice. From the quotations in a Sahidic MS. in the British Museum, which contains a work entitled *Sophia*, and written by Valentinus in the beginning of the second century, Dr Woide has endeavoured to prove, not only that a Sahidic Version of the *New Testament* existed in the second century, but that there was also a translation of the *Old Testament* into Sahidic, from which the author frequently quoted.[20]

After the learned Woide had published his fac-simile edition of the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament, in 1786, he engaged in preparing for the press, an edition of several fragments of the Sahidic version, comprehending about a third part of the New Testament, for which he had issued proposals in 1778. This work, which he designed as an appendix to his Alexandrian New Testament, he intended to accompany with a Latin translation, and a dissertation upon the antiquity and various readings of the Sahidic version. That the publication might be as perfect as the small resources of Egyptian learning would admit, he did not confine himself to the Oxford MSS. and such other as might be found in this country, but enlisted in his service one or two scholars on the Continent, who favoured him with collations; and G. Bald-

(19) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i, ch. viii. sec. 6. pp. 236—241. pt. ii. p. 688.

(20) Ibid. II. pt. ii. p. 595.

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win, Esq. an English gentleman, at that time resident in Egypt, in an official situation, sent over to him several Sahidic MSS. which he had collected together from different parts of that country. The work was put to the press at Oxford, under the patronage of its delegates, in the year 1788. Death, however, prevented him from bringing it to a close. At the time of his decease, the printing had advanced as far as LUKE; and with a view to the farther prosecution of the work, the delegates purchased his papers, and committed them into the hands of *Dr. Ford*, the late principal of Magdalen-Hall, Oxford, and professor of Arabic, in that University, who completed it in the year 1799. In addition to the fragments of the New Testament, in the *Sahidic* version, and an able dissertation on the Egyptian versions, written by Woide himself, this work contains an accurate description of the various MSS. of that dialect, which are to be found either at Oxford, or in other libraries, to which Woide and his friends had access. The collation of the Vatican MS. which is inserted at the close of the volume, was made by Dr. Bentley. To the work is prefixed an elegant and learned preface, by Dr. Ford, containing some particulars concerning Woide, and his studies. The work itself forms a magnificent folio volume, bearing the following title; "Appendix ad editionem Novi Testamenti Græci e codice MS. Alexandrino a Carolo Godofredo Woide, descripti in qua continentur Fragmenta Novi Testamenti, juxta interpretationem dialecti Superioris Ægypti quæ Thebaidica vel Sahidica appellatur, e codicibus Oxoniensibus maxima ex parte desumpta, cum Dissertatione de Versione Bibliorum Ægyptiaca. Quibus subjicitur codicis Vaticani Collatio."[21]

The COPTIC version, or that in the dialect of Lower Egypt, is probably of rather later date than the *Sahidic*, though not more modern than the *third*, if not the second centu-

(21) Appendix ad Edit. N. T. *ut sup.* in Præfat.

ry. Antonius, an illiterate Egyptian monk, who resided, in the third century, in a monastery of Alexandria where the Sahidic was not understood, had read the New Testament, and as he was ignorant of Greek, must have had a translation into his native dialect. Another proof of the early existence of a *Coptic*, or Vulgar Egyptian translation, is, that in one of the rules of Pachomius, for the conduct of the Egyptian monks, it is ordered, that "all persons admitted to the order of monk, if unable to read, shall learn the letters of the A B C, that they may be able to read and write; after which they shall learn every day by heart some passages of Scripture." Men therefore of such profound ignorance, would not have been able to read the Bible, unless they had possessed a translation in their native language.[22]

The *Coptic* dialect is now become obselete, except as it is preserved in the Scriptures, and books of devotion. About the end of the fifth century of the Hegira, the Caliph Walid I. prohibited the Greek tongue throughout his whole empire, by which means the *Coptic*, the characters of which are derived from the Greek, as well as many of its words, ceased, like the other languages of the nations subdued by the Saracens, to be a spoken language. Niebuhr, in his description of Arabia, p. 86. relates that though the Gospels are still read in the Coptic version in the public service, it is not understood even by the priests; and that immediately after the lessons have been read in Coptic, the same are read in Arabic, which is the present language both of Upper and Lower Egypt.[23]

The only printed edition of the *Coptic New Testament*, is the one edited at Oxford in 1716, by Dr. David Wilkins, accompanied with a Latin translation. The typographical execution of the work is beautiful. The title, which is an

(22) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. ii. p. 587.
(23) Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, I. p. 169.
Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. ii. p. 586.

engraved one, is the following ; "Novum Testamentum Ægyptium, vulgo Copticum. Ex MSS. Bodlejanis descripsit, cum Vaticanis et Parisiensibus contulit et in Latinum sermonem convertit David Wilkins Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter. Oxonii e Theatro Sheldoniano typis et sumptibus Academiæ. 1716." It is in quarto. The editor, in his Prolegomena, supposes this version to have been made in the second century, but certainly not later than the commencement of the third century: "Versionem Novi Testamenti in linguam Ægyptiacam primis a Christo nato seculis, scilicet vel secundo, vel tertii initio factam esse nullus dubito asserere. Scriptores equidem illius ævi alto silentio annum et auctores pii hujus operis nobis haud detegunt, non obscuro tamen argumento ex Athanasio et Palladio elici potest Novum Testamentum Ægyptium jam circa medium seculi tertii exstitisse." [24]

Dr. Wilkins also published an edition of the *Coptic Pentateuch*; printed at London, by Bowyer, in 1731. The impression consisted of only 200 copies.

Egyptian literature is so much indebted to the learned editors of the Egyptian versions of the Scriptures, and particularly to Dr. Woide, that the subs equent biographical notices, will probably gratify the reader. They are principally taken from Dr. Ford's *Preface* to the "Fragments of the Sahidic version;" and Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century," vols. I. and IX.

Charles Godfrey Woide was a native of Poland. Whilst at the University of Leyden in 1750, he was employed in transcribing the Coptic Lexicon of La Croze, formerly librarian to the King of Prussia, at Berlin. This work he undertook at the request of the Rev. Christian Scholtz, Chaplain in ordinary to the King of Prussia, who was engaged in completing a grammar of both the Egyptian dialects, under the sanction of Dr. Jablonsky, his brother-in-law, an eminent professor at Frankfort. Sometime

(24) Le Long Bibliotheca Sacra, a Masch, pt. ii. vol. I. sec. 10. p. 188.

afterwards, he came over to England, where his first preferment was the Preachership of the Dutch chapel in the Savoy, (succeeding the Rev. Bernard Drimel, a native of Frankfort on the Oder, who died in June 1770,) to which he soon after added the Readership of the same chapel. In 1773 and 4, he was sent under the auspices of his present Majesty to Paris, for the purpose of transcribing several Sahidic and Memphitic MSS. where he resided about four months. In 1775, he revised through the Clarendon Press, Scholtz's "Lexicon Ægyptiaco-Latinum" 4to. He was elected F.S.A. in 1778; and distinguished himself the same year by publishing a Coptic and Sahidic grammar under the following title: "Christ. Scholtz Grammatica Ægypti utriusque dialecti quam breviavit, illustravit, edidit C. G. Woide." 4to. In 1782, Mr. Woide was appointed an assistant librarian at the British Museum; at first, in the department of natural history; but very soon after, in one more congenial to his studies, that of printed books. In 1786 came out his truly valuable edition of the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament, dedicated to the then Archbishop of Canterbury; on which occasion he was introduced to his Majesty at the levee; and had the honour of presenting him with a copy of his work. He was this year admitted to the honorary degree of LL. D. in the University of Oxford. He had before obtained the degree of D. D. from the University of Copenhagen. In 1788 he was elected F. R. S. The latter part of his life was chiefly devoted to examining and collating the fragments of the Sahidic version of the New Testament, and in preparing them for the press. He also revised and corrected the Greek quotations in bishop Hurd's edition of Warburton's works. On May 6th. 1790, while at Sir Joseph Banks's, with a select party of literary friends, he was seized with an apoplectic fit; every assistance was administered to him, and he was attended by Dr. Carmichael Smith, but died the next day, at

his apartments in the British Museum. He left two orphan daughters, having been bereaved some years before of Mrs. Woide, who died August 12th, 1782.

David Wilkins, D. D. F. S. A. was a native of Memel, in Prussia, and eminent as an oriental and Saxon scholar. About the year 1715, he was appointed by archbishop Wake, to succeed Dr. Benjamin Ibbot, as keeper of the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth; and in three years drew up a very curious catalogue of all the MSS. and printed books in that valuable library in his time, in which was incorporated the earlier catalogue of Mr. Henry Wharton, which is still preserved. As a reward for his industry and learning, archbishop Wake constituted him his chaplain, collated him to several valuable livings; and, in 1720, to a prebend of Canterbury; to which was afterwards added, his Grace's option of the archdeaconry of Suffolk. Beside the *Coptic New Testatament*, and *Pentateuch*, he published a fine edition of "*Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ ecclesiasticæ et civiles*," fol. 1721, *Seldeni Opera Omnia*, 3 vols. fol. 1726, and "*Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, &c.*" 4 vols. fol. 1736. In 1725, he married the eldest daughter of Thomas Lord Fairfax, of Scotland; he died September 6th, 1745, and was buried at Hadleigh, in Essex.

Dr. Samuel Pegge, in his "Anonymiana," (Cent. I. p. 22.) thus speaks of Dr. Wilkins, with particular reference to *a Polyglott Bible* projected by him: "The late Dr. David Wilkins, prebendary of Canterbury, a man of indefatigable industry, but grievously afflicted with the gout, had formed a design, as he told me, of publishing an European Polyglott, in order to illustrate the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, by exhibiting, in one view, the authorized translations of the different nations of Europe, together with the best private ones of certain particular learned men, whereby the sense they severally put upon many of the more difficult texts, might the more com-

modiously appear. But, alas! the Doctor died before he had made any great advances in his project."

The THIRD CENTURY, was eminently distinguished by the learned and critical labours of ORIGEN, PAMPHILUS, EUSEBIUS of CÆSAREA, and other individuals of sincere piety, and multifarious learning.

ORIGEN was born at Alexandria, in Egypt, A. D. 185. Leonidas, his father, early taught him to exercise himself in searching the Scriptures, enjoining it upon him as a daily task, to learn some portion of them by heart, and repeat it. This laid the foundation of an intimate acquaintance with the Holy Writings, and probably of that diligent study of them, for which he was afterwards so famed.

When he was seventeen years old, his father suffered martyrdom; leaving behind, a wife, and six children. In his son Origen, Leonidas found a steady encourager in the faith. Gladly would the son have suffered with his father; and when to prevent him, his mother hid his clothes, he wrote a most persuasive letter, exhorting him, "Father, take heed; let not your care for us make you change your resolution." In his eighteenth year, he was chosen master of the catechetical, or grammar school, at Alexandria. This situation he afterwards relinquished, that he might apply himself entirely to theological studies. His library, containing the works of the heathen philosophers, and poets, &c. he sold to a buyer, who engaged to give him 4 *Oboli* (about six-pence) a day: and on this he subsisted for several years, sleeping on the floor, walking barefoot, and going almost naked; devoting not only the day, but also the greater part of the night to the study of the Holy Scriptures.

He was a most voluminous writer; but the works which have immortalized his name, are his HEXAPLA, or Collation of the Septuagint version, which *Father Montfaucon* supposes must originally have made 50 volumes;

and his vindication of Christianity, *against* CELSUS, the Epicurean philosopher.

In the collation of the Septuagint, he laboured with indefatigable industry, and having acquired a perfect knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, and purchased from the Jews the *original,* (perhaps the *Autograph of Ezra,)* or most authentic copies of the Hebrew Scriptures; and having also obtained a correct copy of the Septuagint, or Greek version, he transcribed them, and placed them in parallel columns. In the *first* column was the Hebrew text in Hebrew characters; in the *second,* the same text in Greek characters. In other columns, he placed the Septuagint, and other Greek translations, particularly those of Aquila, (see p. 68.) and of Symmachus and Theodotion, two Ebionite Christians. The differences between the Hebrew copies and the Septuagint, were noted by various marks. The name HEXAPLA, or *Sextuple* was derived from the *six* principal Greek versions employed in the collation. Some fragments excepted, this work has been long irrecoverably lost. All that could be gathered from the works of the ancients, was collected and published A. D. 1713, by Montfaucon, in two volumes folio.[25]

An ancient MS. of the book of Genesis, written in Greek capitals, was brought from Philippi by two Greek bishops, who presented it to king Henry VIII. telling him at the same time, that tradition reported it to have been Origen's *own book.* Queen Elizabeth gave it to Sir John Fortescue, her preceptor in Greek, who placed it in the Cottonian Library, now in the British Museum. Archbishop Usher considered it as the oldest manuscript in the world: and although it is impossible to ascertain whether this book belonged to Origen, or not, it is probably the oldest manuscript in England, perhaps in Europe; unless it be

(25) Eusebius's History of the Church, B. vi. ch. ii. iii. xvi. xix. xxiii, B. vii. ch. i.
Waltoni Proleg. 9.
Clarke's Succession of Sacred Literature, I. pp. 179—182.

supposed with Matthai, that the copy of the Gospels preserved at Moscow, is more ancient, which is at least very doubtful. It was almost destroyed by a fire which happened in the library, in the year 1731; nor is it one of the least singular circumstances respecting this MS. that in consequence of the fire, the capital letters, in which it is written, have been contracted from *large* into *small* capitals; and Mr. Dibdin supposes the *Illuminations* to have undergone a similar metamorphosis.[26]

This manuscript contained 165 folios or leaves, and 250 most curious paintings, 21 fragments of which were engraved by the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Previous to the publication of the HEXAPLA, Origen composed what is called the TETRAPLA, or *Quadruple*, containing only the Septuagint, and the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The original work, which was deposited by him, with his other writings, in the library of Cæsarea, is supposed to have perished when that city was taken and destroyed by the Saracens, in 653, after a siege of seven years.

He died a natural death in the 69th year of his age, at Tyre, in 254: after having suffered much for the testimony of Christ. "A man," says Mosheim, "of vast and uncommon abilities, and the greatest luminary of the Christian world, that this age exhibited to view. Had the justness of his judgment been equal to the *immensity* of his *genius*, the fervour of his piety, his indefatigable patience, his extensive erudition, and his other eminent and superior talents, all encomiums must have fallen short of his merit. Yet, *such as he was*, his virtues and labours deserve the admiration of all ages; and his name will be transmitted with honour through the annals of time, as long as learning and genius shall be esteemed among men."[27]

(26) Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, ch. v. See a fac-simile of part of it in plate 3. fig. 3, of this work.
Dibdin's Bibliog. Decameron, I. p. xlviii, note.
(27) Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. I. p. 270.

PAMPHILUS was a presbyter of Cæsarea. He lived A. D. 294. In him were united the philosopher and the Christian. Of an eminent family, and large fortune, he might have aspired to the highest honours; but he withdrew himself from the glare of temporal grandeur, and spent his life in acts of the most disinterested benevolence. He was remarkable for his unfeigned regard to the Sacred Writings, and for his unwearied application in whatever he undertook. A great encourager of learning and piety, he not only *lent* books, especially copies of the Scriptures, to read, but when he found persons well disposed, made them presents of his manuscripts, some of which were transcribed with the greatest accuracy, by his own hand. "He erected (or rather enlarged) the library at Cæsarea, which, according to Isidore of *Seville*, contained 30,000 volumes. This collection seems to have been made merely for the good of the church, and to *lend out* to religiously disposed people. St. Jerom particularly mentions his collecting books for the purpose of *lending them to be read;*" and "this is, if I mistake not," says Dr. A. Clarke, "the first notice we have of a CIRCULATING LIBRARY."[28]

Of this library some traces remain even to the present day. Montfaucon assures us, that in the Jesuits' College, at Paris, there is a beautiful MS. of the Prophets, in which there occurs a note, signifying, that it was transcribed from the very copy made by Pamphilus, in which were written these words: "Transcribed from the Hexapla, containing the translations; and corrected by Origen's own Tetrapla, which also had emendations and scholia in his own hand writing. I Eusebius added the scholia; Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected."[29] The same learned writer mentions also a very ancient MS. of some of St. Paul's Epistles, preserved in the French King's Li-

(28) Hieronymi Opera, Tom. I. fol. 132. Basil. 1516, fol. Clarke's Succession of Sacred Literature, I. p. 227.

(29) Montfaucon, Præf. in Hex. Orig. p. 4.

brary, which contains the following note: "This book was compared with the copy in the library at Cæsarea, in the hand writing of St. Pamphilus."[30]

The death of this eminent, holy, and useful man, did not discredit his life. For when a persecution was raised against the Christians, and Urbanus, the Roman president of Cæsarea, an unfeeling and brutal man, required him to renounce his religion or his life; Pamphilus, the *gentle* Pamphilus, made the latter choice, and cheerfully submitted to imprisonment, to torture, and to death. The reflections of a late writer on the death of Pamphilus, are so appropriate and impressive, that there can need no apology for inserting them.

"When I peruse the account which Eusebius gives of the cruelties, which this gentle and amiable spirit was forced to endure, and which he, and eleven others, who were put to death with him, suffered with the most noble bravery, and undaunted fortitude, I am struck with admiration at the greatness of that power, which could raise men so much above themselves, and enable them so completely to overcome all the weakness of humanity. At all times there have been men ignorant, ferocious, and brutal, who have set death at defiance, and despised pain; but it was reserved for Christianity to exhibit a new kind of sufferers—men who joined cool reason to heroic resolution, and tender sensibility to inflexible fortitude. The tiger and the bear will always retain their own manners; but where is he, who shall give the feelings of the lion to the modest deer, or the gentle lamb?—THEY ONLY CAN NOBLY SUFFER, WHO CAN TENDERLY FEEL. Farewell then, excellent Pamphilus! reluctant we leave thee, bright STAR OF HUMAN EXCELLENCE! obscure in the register of men! illustrious in the CALENDAR OF HEAVEN!"[31]

EUSEBIUS, bishop of Cæsarea, the friend of Pamphilus,

(30) Montfaucon. Bib. Coislin. p. 262.
(31) Christie's Miscellanies, p. 174. printed by J. Nichols, 1789, 8vo.

was probably born in Cæsarea, about A. D. 270. Through affection to his friend, he assumed his name, and was ever after termed EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS. Origen excepted, he was the most learned of all the writers of antiquity. He is justly styled *the Father of Ecclesiastical History.* His most celebrated works are, his *Ecclesiastical History, Evangelical Preparation,* and *Evangelical Demonstration.* His *History* begins at the birth of our Lord, and comes down to the defeat of Licinus. In his *Evangelical Preparation* he refutes the errors of paganism, demonstrates the excellence of the Hebrew Scriptures, and shews that the most eminent and learned nations, the Greeks especially, transcribed from them whatever dignity or truth is to be met with in their philosophy. His *Evangelical Demonstration,* designed to prove that JESUS was the MESSIAH, is an invaluable work. Dr. Harwood observes, "It is a treasure of knowledge, and good sense; and contains all the arguments in favour of the credibility, and divine authority of the Christian religion, that have been advanced by Chandler, Leland, Benson, Butler, Brown, and other modern advocates of Christianity against the deists."[32]

He was made bishop of Antioch, A. D. 313, was present at the council of Nice in 325, and at the council of Antioch in 331. He was high in the favour of the Emperor Constantine, and is supposed to have died about A. D. 338, or 340.

LUCIAN, a presbyter of Antioch, and HESYCHIUS, an Egyptian bishop, flourished about the same period, and are deservedly ranked amongst the Biblical scholars of that age. LUCIAN is generally supposed to have been born at Samosata, a celebrated city of Syria. He lived about the year 290. Eminent for piety, and extraordinary

(32) Clarke's Bibliographical Dict. III. p. 209; and Succession of Sacred Literature, I. p. 265.
Houtteville's Method of the Principal Authors who wrote for and against Christianity, p. 92.

knowledge of the Divine Scriptures, as well as for polite learning, he laboured sedulously to produce a faithful and correct edition of the Septuagint version of the old Testament, by collating the common Greek versions, and correcting the collation by the Hebrew. This edition was afterwards read in all the churches, from Constantinople to Antioch. The Autograph of Lucian, is said to have been found, in the reign of Constantine the Great, amongst the Jews, secreted in a wall. He suffered at Nicomedia, for confessing the name of Christ, in the reign of Maximin; and was buried at Helenopolis, in Bithynia.

HESYCHIUS was bishop of a city in Egypt, about the close of the same century. He also formed an edition of the Septuagint version, upon the same plan as that of Lucian, from copies collected in Egypt. To the *Old Testament* he added an edition of the *New*. His revision of the Septuagint was received and adopted by the Churches of Egypt; so that the *three* editions by Origen, Lucian, and Hesychius shared the world among them; and from one or other of them are derived all the manuscript copies of the Septuagint, that are now extant, or at least known. Hesychius obtained the crown of martyrdom in 311, during the persecution of Dioclesian.[33]

But whilst these pious and learned men were thus indefatigably labouring to promote the knowledge and circulation of the Holy Scriptures, various forms of superstition were insinuating themselves into the church of God. "Being mingled among the Heathen," the Christians "learned their works." (Psalm cvi. 35.) One of the abuses thus introduced was BIBLIOMANCY, or *Divination by the Bible*.

This kind of Divination was named SORTES SANCTORUM, or SORTES SACRÆ, *Lots of the Saints, or Sacred Lots*; and consisted in suddenly opening, or dipping into the

(33) Cavei Hist. Literar. p. 108. Lond. 1688, fol.
Owen's Enquiry into the present sate of the Sept. Version, p. 149.

Bible, and regarding the passage that first presented itself to the eye, as predicting the future *Lot* of the inquirer. The *Sortes Sanctorum* succeeded the *Sortes Homericæ*, and *Sortes Virgilianæ* of the pagans, among whom it was customary to take the work of some famous poet, as Homer or Virgil, and write out different verses on separate scrolls, and afterwards draw one of them; or else, opening the book suddenly, consider the first verse that presented itself, as a prognostication of future events. Even the vagrant fortune-tellers among them, like some of the gipsies of our own times, adopted this method of imposing upon the credulity of the ignorant. The nations of the east still retain this practice. The late Persian usurper, Nadir Shah, twice decided upon besieging cities, by opening upon verses of the celebrated poet Hafiz.[34]

Superstitious as this practice was, it nevertheless gained ground by the countenance of certain of the clergy, some of whom permitted prayers to be read in the churches for this very purpose.[35] Others, however, endeavoured to suppress it, for in the council of Vannes, held A.D. 465, it was ordained, "That whoever of the clergy or laity should be detected in the practice of this art, should be cast out of the communion of the church."[36] In 506, the council of Agde renewed the decree; and in 578, the council of Auxerre, amongst other kinds of divination, forbade the *Lots of the Saints*, as they were called, adding, "Let all things be done in the name of the Lord."[37] But these ordinances gradually became slighted, for we find the practice again noticed and condemned, in a *capitulary*, or edict of Charlemagne, in 793. In the twelfth century, this mode of divination was adopted as a means of discovering heretical opinions! One *Peter* of *Thoulouse*, being accused of

(34) Sir W. Jones's Works, Traité sur la Poesie Orientale, V. p. 463. 4to.
(35) Heinault's Chronolog. Abridgment of the Hist. of France, A.D. 506.
(36) S. S. Concilia, Concil. Venet. Anno Christi 465, IV. p. 1057.
Bingham's Antiq. of the Chris. Church, VII. B. xvi. ch. v. p. 278.
(37) S. S. Concilia, VII. p. 989.

heresy, and having denied it upon oath, a person who stood near, took up the Gospels, on which he had sworn, and opening them suddenly, the first words he lighted upon were those of the Devil to our Saviour, (Mark i. 24.) "What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth?" Which, says the relator, agreed well with such a heretic, "who indeed had nothing to do with Christ!!"[38]

Francis of Assise, who founded the order of Franciscans, in 1206, says of himself, that he was tempted to have a *book:* but as this seemed contrary to his vow, which allowed him nothing but *coats, a cord, and hose, and in case of necessity only, shoes*; he, after prayer, resorted to the Gospel, and meeting with that sentence, "It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given;" (Matthew xiii. 11.) concluded that he should do well enough without books, and suffered none of his followers to have so much as a Bible, or Breviary, or Psalter!![39]

Bibliomancy was also practised, not only in the common occurrences of life, and by private individuals, but by the highest dignitaries of the church, on the most public occasions, and particularly in the *election of bishops*. When a bishop was to be elected, it was customary to appoint a fast, usually for three days; afterwards the Psalms, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Gospels were placed on one side of the altar, and small billets, with the names of the candidates upon them, on the other; a child or some other person then drew one of the billets, and the candidate whose name was upon it, was declared to be duly elected. On one of these occasions, St. Euvert caused a child to be brought, which had not yet learned to speak; he then directed the infant to take up one of the billets, the little innocent obeyed, and took up one on which the name of St. Agnan was inscribed, who was proclaimed to be

(38) Gataker, Of the Nature and Use of Lots, p. 330.
(39) Ibid. p. 346.

elected by the Lord. But for the more general satisfaction of the multitude, Euvert consulted the Sacred Volumes. On opening the Psalms, he read, "Blessed is the man whom thou choosest, and causest to approach unto thee, that he may dwell in thy courts." In the Epistles of St. Paul he found, "Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." And in the Gospels he opened upon the words, "Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." These testimonies were accounted decisive in favour of Agnan, all the suffrages were united, and he was placed in the episcopal chair of Orleans, amid the acclamations of the people.[40] A similar mode was pursued at the installation of abbots, and the reception of canons.

This usage was not confined to the Latins, it was equally adopted by the Greeks. Two facts may prove its existence, and injurious tendency. The first is that of Caracalla, archbishop of Nicomedia, who consecrated Athanasius on his nomination to the patriarchate of Constantinople, by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Having opened the books of the Gospels upon the words, "For the devil and his angels;" the Bishop of Nice first saw them, and adroitly turned over the leaf to another verse which was instantly read aloud, "The birds of the air may come and lodge in the branches thereof." But as this passage appeared to be irrelevant to so grave a ceremony, that which had first presented itself, became known to the public almost insensibly. To diminish the unpleasant impression it had produced, the people were reminded, that on a similar occasion, another archbishop of Constantinople had accidentally met with a circumstance equally inauspicious, by lighting upon the

(40) Memoires de l' Academie des Inscriptions: *Recherches Historiques sur les Sorts appelés. Sortes Sanctorum;* par M. l' Abbé du Resnel, XIX. pp. 287. 296. Paris 1753, 4to.

words, "There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth," and yet his episcopate had neither been less happy, nor less tranquil than formerly. The historian, nevertheless, remarks, that whatever had been the case under former archbishops, the church of Constantinople was violently agitated by the most fatal divisions during the patriarchate of Athanasius. The other instance, is that of the metropolitan of Chersonesus, the first prelate consecrated by Theophanes, after his translation from the metropolitan see of Cyzicus to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and who having received the book of the Gospels at his hands, and opened it, according to custom, met with these words, "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch," which were regarded by the public as prognosticating evil to both the patriarch, and the metropolitan.[41]

The Abbé du Resnel informs us, that this custom was continued in the cathedral of Boulogne, and at Ypres, and St. Omer, so late as the year 1744, only with this difference, that at Boulogne, the newly chosen canon drew the lot from the Psalms, instead of the Gospels. The late M. de Langle, bishop of Boulogne, who regarded the custom as superstitious, and perceived, that when the new canons accidentally opened upon passages containing imprecations, or reproaches, or traits of depravity, an unmerited stigma attached to their character, issued an order for its abrogation, in 1722. But the chapter, who claimed exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, treated the order with contempt, and persevered in their superstition, except, that as it had been customary to insert in the letters of induction given to each canon, the verse which had been drawn for him, it should in future be added, that this was done according to the ancient custom of the church of Terouanne; out of which the churches of Boulogne, Ypres, and St. Omer, had risen, after its destruction by Charles V. "I have in my possession," says the Abbé,

(41) Memoires de l' Academie des Inscriptions, XIX. p. 303.

"one of these acts, dated in 1720, in which are the following words: *Et secundam antiquam ecclesiæ Morinensis, nunc Boloniensis consuetudinem, hunc ex psalmo sortitus est versiculum: Ipsi peribunt, tu autem permanes, et omnes sicut vestimentum veterascent:* "And according to the ancient custom of the church of Terouanne, (now Boulogne,) this verse was drawn from the Psalms: 'They shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment."[42]

Another species of *Bibliomancy*, not very dissimilar from the *Sortes Sanctorum* of the Christians, was the Bath-Kol, or Daughter of the Voice, in use amongst the Jews. It consisted in appealing to the first words heard from any one, especially when reading the Scriptures, and looking upon them as a *Voice from Heaven*, directing them in the matter inquired about. The following is an instance: Rabbi *Acher*, having committed many crimes, was led into thirteen synagogues, and in each synagogue a disciple was interrogated, and the verse he read was examined. In the first school they read these words of Isaiah, (ch. xlviii. 22.) *There is no peace unto the wicked:* another school read, (Psalm l. 16.) *Unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth?* and in all the synagogues something of this nature was heard against *Acher*, from whence it was concluded he was hated of God![43] This species of divination received its name from being supposed to succeed to the *Oracular Voice*, delivered from the mercy-seat, when God was there consulted by Urim and Thummim, or *Light* and *Perfection*, (Exodus xxviii. 30.) a term, most probably, used to express the clearness and perfection of the answers which God gave to the high-priest. The Jews have a saying amongst them, that the Holy Spirit spake to the Israel-

(42) Memoires de l' Academie des Inscriptions, *ubi sup.*
(43) Basnage's History of the Jews, B. iii. ch. v. p. 165, fol.

ites, during the tabernacle, by Urim and Thummim; under the first temple by the prophets; and under the second temple by BATH-KOL.[44]

Nearly allied to the practice of Bibliomancy, was the use of the *Amulets* or *Charms*, termed PERIAPTA, and PHYLACTERIA, and sometimes LIGATURÆ, and LIGATIONES. They were formed of ribbands, with sentences of Scripture written upon them, and hung about the neck, as magical preventatives of evil. They were worn by many of the Christians in the earlier ages, but considered by the wisest and most holy of the bishops and clergy, as disgraceful to religion, and deserving the severest reprehension. *Chrysostom* frequently mentions them, and always with the utmost detestation. The council of Laodicea, A. D. 364, can. 36, condemns those of the clergy, who pretend to make them, declaring that such *Phylacteries* or Charms, are bonds and fetters to the soul; and ordering those who wore them to be cast out of the church. And *Augustine* thus expostulates with those who used them: "When we are afflicted with pains in our head, let us not run to enchanters, and fortune-tellers, and remedies of vanity. I mourn for you, my brethren, for I daily find these things done. And what shall I do? I cannot yet persuade Christians to put their trust only in Christ. With what face can a soul go unto God, that has lost the sign of Christ; and taken upon him the sign of the devil." Basil and Epiphanius also make similar complaints, and express equal abhorrence of the practice.[45] These Phylacteries of the Christians, were most probably derived from the TEPHILIM, or Phylacteries of the Jews.

The Jewish PHYLACTERIES were small slips of parchment or vellum, on which certain portions of the LAW

(44) Lewis's Antiquities of the Heb. Republic, B. ii. ch. iii. pp. 112. 114. 198. vol I.

(45) Suiceri Thesaurus, II. pp. 668. 1465. Amstel. 1682, fol.
Du Cange, Glossar. sub. v. *Ligaturæ*, and *Legationes* &c.
Bingham's Antiquities, &c. VII. B. xvi. ch. v. seç. vi. p. 235.

were written, inclosed in cases of *black calf-skin*, and tied about the forehead, and left arm. The Jews considered them as a divine ordinance, and founded their opinion on Exodus xiii. 9, and similar passages. The design of them was believed to be, *first*, to put them in mind of those precepts which they should constantly observe; and *secondly*, to procure them reverence and respect, in the sight of the heathen. They were afterwards degraded into instruments of superstition, and used as *amulets* or *charms*, to drive away evil spirits. Dr. Lightfoot thinks it not unlikely, that our Saviour wore the Jewish Phylacteries himself, according to the custom of the country; and that he did not condemn the *wearing* of them, but the pride and hypocrisy of the pharisees in making them *broad*, and visible, to obtain fame and esteem for their devotion and piety.[46]

The council of Rome, under Gregory II. in A. D. 721, condemned the Phylacteries of the Christians; and the council of Trullo ordered the makers of them to be cast out of the church, and forbade all making and using of *charms* or *amulets*, as the relics of heathen superstition still remaining among the weaker and baser sort of Christians.[47]

Happily these baneful practices were partially restrained, by the pious and liberal endeavours of many of the early christians, to promote all useful knowledge. Accurate copies of the Holy Scriptures were every where multiplied, and that at such moderate prices, as rendered them of easy purchase; whilst translations into various languages were carefully published, in correct editions, many

(46) Wagenseilii Sota. ch. ii. pp. 397. 415. Altdorf. 1674.
Buxtorfii Synagog. Jud. ch. ix. p. 170. Edit. Basil. 1661.
Lightfoot's Works, II. p. 232. fol.
Wotton's Miscellaneous Discourses, I. p. 194.
Fleury's Manners of the Israelites, by Dr. A. Clarke, pt. iii, ch. vi. p. 227, Note. 8vo.

(47) Bingham's Antiquities, &c. VII. p. 292.

of the more opulent members of the christian church, generously contributing a great part of their substance to the carrying on these pious and excellent undertakings. All possible care was taken also to accustom their children to the study of the Scriptures, and to instruct them in the doctrines of their holy religion; and for this purpose SCHOOLS were erected, even from the very commencement of the christian church. But beside the ordinary schools for children, there existed among the primitive christians GYMNASIA, or *Academies*, in which those who aspired to be public teachers, were instructed in the different branches, both of human learning, and of sacred erudition. None of these schools, or academies, were of more note, than that which was established at Alexandria, commonly called the *Catechetical School*, and generally supposed to have been erected by St. Mark. This school was rendered famous by a succession of learned doctors; for after the death of ST. MARK, PANTÆNUS, CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, ORIGEN, and many others taught in it the doctrines of the Gospel. Similar schools were established also at Rome, Antioch, Cæsarea, Edessa, and several other places, though not of equal reputation.[48]

Nor had they only schools, but at a very early period, LIBRARIES; and these, not the collections of private and curious persons, but public repositories, belonging to various churches; containing *copies of the Sacred Writings*, the works of the Christian teachers, and also the profane authors. ALEXANDER, who was elected bishop of Jerusalem, about the beginning of the third century, "was rendered illustrious by an union of virtues seemingly opposite; remarkable for the mildness and gentleness of his general manners, he was at the same time resolute, magnanimous, and inflexible, wherever the great interests of truth were concerned. He was twice brought before heathen magistrates, in whose presence he avowed his senti-

(48) Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. I. pp. 118. 277. Lond. 8vo.

ments, with undaunted freedom, for which he was at last thrown into prison, and died there.[49] To him the church at Jerusalem was indebted for a noble *Library*, which he erected at that place. Eusebius found preserved in it, the letters of several learned men, who had lived in former times; and he tells us that it furnished him with many of the materials of his Ecclesiastical History.[50] JULIUS AFRICANUS, a native of Palestine, and a man of the most profound erudition, founded in this century, the Library at *Cæsarea*, which the excellent *Pamphilus* afterwards enriched and greatly enlarged. Jerom compares it to the libraries of Demetrius Phalereus and Pisistratus, and informs us that Pamphilus sought all over the world for curious books and works of genius to deposit in it; and was so zealous for its improvement, that he wrote out for it the greatest part of Origen's works with his own hand. He adds, also, that this Library contained the *Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's Gospel*.[51]

The libraries formed by the early Christians were generally placed in the churches, in which were *Cubicula*, or rooms appropriated to the use of those who were desirous of retirement and meditation. These *Cubicula* or *Secretaria*, as they were sometimes called, were erected with the church; one being generally placed on the right side of it, and another on the left. The Sacred Writings were preserved in one of them, and the sacramental utensils in the other. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, having erected a church there, placed appropriate inscriptions over each of the *Cubicula*. Over that designed to be the repository of the Sacred Scriptures was written.

Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas,
Hic poterit residens sanctis intendere libris.

'If any one be desirous of meditating in the Law of 'God, he may here sit down and read the Holy Books.'

(49) Christie's Miscellanies, p. 27. (50) Hist. Eccles. Lib. vi, ch. xx.
(51) Hieronymi Catalog. Script. Eccles. Opera. I. fo. 132, Basil. 1516, Lomeier De Bibliothecis, ch. vii. p. 127.

Over the room designed for the sacramental utensils, was inscribed,

Hic locus est veneranda penus qua conditer, et qua
Promitur alma sacri pompa Ministerii.

'This is the place where the holy food is reposited, 'and whence we take provision and furniture for the 'altar.'[52]

In the *third century* also, a distinct order of PUBLIC READERS of the Sacred Scriptures began to be generally established in the Churches. Their office was to read the Scriptures to the congregation from the *Pulpitum* or reading-desk, in the body of the church. The office was accounted an honourable one, and was sometimes held by *Confessors*, as those were denominated who had avowed their attachment to the Gospel in the face of the greatest dangers, and in the presence of the enemies of Christianity. Sometimes also young persons, who had been dedicated to the service of God from their infancy, were permitted to officiate as readers. The council of Carthage directs, that when a reader is ordained, the bishop shall address the people, and declare to them the faith, and life, and talents of the candidate; and delivering to him a copy of the Scriptures, shall say to him, "Take this book, and be thou a READER of the WORD OF GOD, which office if thou fulfil faithfully and profitably, thou shalt have part with those that minister in the Word of God."[53]

INTERPRETERS were established in the church at about the same period, whose business it was to render one language into another, as there was occasion, both in reading the Scriptures, and in the homilies addressed to the people. Procopius, the martyr, is said to have borne the three distinct offices of reader, exorcist, and Interpreter of the Syriac tongue, in the church of Scythopolis. This

(52) Bingham's Antiquities, &c. III. B. viii. ch. vi. pp. 210, 211. & ch. vii. p. 226. 8vo.

(53) Ibid. II. B. iii. ch. v. pp. 27—33.

office, however, appears to have principally existed in those churches where the people spoke different languages, as in the churches of Palestine, where probably some used *Syriac*, and others the *Greek* tongue; and in the churches of Africa, where both the *Latin* and *Punic* were spoken.

Another custom observed in the ancient churches was that of having BIBLES, *in the vulgar tongue* placed in a convenient part of the church, for the people at their leisure, to employ themselves in reading the Scriptures before or after divine service; a practice rendered peculiarly necessary by the enormous expense of transcribing so large a volume as the Bible prior to the invention of printing.

To these salutary measures, wisely adopted for the diffusion of sacred knowledge, a most formidable obstacle was presented, by the cruel persecution of Dioclesian, the Roman Emperor, which commenced in the year 303. When this Emperor first assumed the purple in A. D. 284. he shewed himself favourable to Christianity; but instigated by the Heathen Priesthood, and counselled by his colleague Galerius, he at length threw off the mask, and in the nineteenth year of his reign commanded the churches to be razed, *the Bibles to be burnt*, those who had borne offices of honour to be degraded, and those of inferior stations, if they persisted in their avowal of Christianity, to be made slaves. This edict was followed by others, ordaining that all who any where presided in the church, should be imprisoned; and that they should by every means be compelled to sacrifice to the heathen deities. In one month no fewer than seventeen thousand martyrs suffered death! In the province of Egypt alone, one hundred and forty-four thousand persons died by the violence of their persecutors; and seven hundred thousand died through the fatigues of banishment or of the public works to which they were condemned! Gildas, the most ancient British historian we have, relates, that

by this persecution of Dioclesian, "the churches were thrown down, and *all the books of the Holy Scriptures that could be found were burnt in the streets*, and the chosen priests of the flock of our Lord, with the innocent sheep, murdered; so that in some parts of the province, no footsteps appeared of the Christian religion."[54] Our ancient chronicler, *Robert* of *Gloucester*, has left an account of this persecution, in these old rhymes:

Twei emperoures of Rome, Dyoclician,
And an other, ys felaw, that het Maximian,
Were bothe at on tyme, the on in the Est ende,
And the other in the West, Cristendom to schende,*
For the luther† Maximian Westward hider sogte,
And Cristenemen, that he fonde, to strong deth he brogte.
Chirches he fel al a doun, ther ne moste non stonde,
And al the bokes, that he mygte fynde in eny londe,
He wolde lete hem berne echon amid the heye strete,
And tho Cristenemen alle sle, and none o live lete.
Seththe God was y bore, ther nas for Cristendom
In so lute stond y do so greet martirdom.
For ther were in a moneth seventene thousant and mo
Y martired for our Lorde's love.[55]

The most dreadful tortures were inflicted upon those who refused to deliver up the *Sacred Volumes* to the fury of the heathen; but every torture, and even death itself, were braved with the most heroic constancy, by many Christian worthies, to whom the Book of God was more precious than life. Felix of Tibiura, in Africa, being apprehended as a Christian, was commanded, by Magnilian, curator or civil magistrate of the city, to deliver up all *books* and *writings* belonging to his church, that they might be burnt. The martyr replied, that it was better

(54) Millar's Hist of Propagation of Christianity. *Works*, VII. p. 235.
* *schende*, spoil, destroy. † *luther*, cruel, wicked, base.
(55) Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, by T. Hearne, p. 81. Oxford, 1724. 8vo.

he himself should be burnt. This magistrate sent him to the proconsul at Carthage, by whom he was delivered over to the prefect of the Prætorium, who was then in Africa. This supreme officer, offended at his bold and generous confession, commanded him to be loaded with heavier bolts and irons, and, after he had kept him nine days in a close dungeon, to be put on board a vessel, saying he should stand his trial before the emperor. For four days he lay under the hatches of the ship, between the horses' feet, without eating or drinking. He was landed at Agragentum, in Sicily; and when brought by the prefect as far as Venosa, in Apulia, his irons were knocked off, and he was again asked whether he had the Scriptures, and would deliver them up; "I have them," said he, "but will not part with them." The prefect instantly condemned him to be beheaded. "I thank thee, O Lord," said this honest martyr, "that I have lived fifty-six years, have preserved the Gospel, and have preached faith and truth. O my Lord Jesus Christ, the God of heaven and earth, I bow my head to be sacrificed to thee, who livest to all eternity."[56] Adopting the words of a valuable writer;* "I judge it not amiss to distinguish this man. The preservation of civil liberty is valuable, and the names of men who have suffered for it with integrity, are recorded with honour. But how much below the name of Felix of Tibiura, should these be accounted! He is one of those heroes who have preserved to us the precious WORD OF GOD itself."—EUPLIUS of CATANA, in Sicily, suffered in the same cause. Let his name be remembered with honour, together with that of Felix. Being seized with the Gospels in his hand, he was examined on the rack, "Why do you keep the Scriptures forbidden by the emperors?" He answered, "Because I am a Christian. Life eternal is in them; he that gives

(56) Milner's Hist. of the Church, II. p. 18. 8vo.
Butler's Lives of the Saints: Oct. 24. X. p. 525.

* Rev. J. Milner, *ut sup.*

them up loses life eternal." When ordered away to execution, the executioners hung the book of the Gospels, which he had with him when he was seized, about his neck, and the public crier proclaimed before him: "This is Euplius, the Christian, an enemy to the gods, and the emperors." He was beheaded on the 12th of August, in the year 304.[57]

But all were not thus faithful, the clamours of the heathens, who were exclaiming on every side, "Burn your Testaments," and the dread of torture and death, intimidated many cowardly and perfidious spirits, who deserting the sacred cause of christianity, surrendered up the HOLY SCRIPTURES, and the different moveables of the church. At Cirta, in Numidia, Paul, the bishop, ordered a subdeacon to deliver up the treasures of the church to a Roman officer, thus betraying his sacred charge, and violating in the grossest manner, every principle of christian integrity.

This base and cowardly conduct, met with merited indignation from the more faithful Christians, who denominated them *Traditores*, or traitors, and anathematized them as guilty of profane and sacrilegious acts. The first council of Arles, held immediately after this persecution, decreed, that every clergyman, who had betrayed the SCRIPTURES, or any of the holy vessels, or the names of his brethren, to the persecutors, should be deposed from his office: and St. Austin went so far as to affirm, that if the charge of this crime could be made good against Cecilian, bishop of Carthage, and those who ordained him, by the Donatists, who threw out the reflection upon them, they should be anathematized even after death."[58] In this persecution, which continued for about ten years

(57) Butler's Lives, Aug. 12. VIII. p. 158.

(58) Milner's Hist of the Church, *ubi sup.*

(58) Kortholtus, De Persecutionibus Eccles. Prim, ch. x, pp, 444. 449. Kiloni, 1689. 4to.
Milner's History of the Church, II. p. 18.

under Dioclesian and his successors, St. ALBAN, the first person who suffered martyrdom for Christianity in England, was beheaded at Verulam, in Hertfordshire, since called St. Albans, from the abbey founded in memory of the martyr, A. D. 795, by Offa, king of the Mercians.[59]

Eusebius, in his account of the martyrs who suffered in Palestine under this persecution, presents us with some instances, wherein those who suffered, discovered the ardour of their love to the Bible, by having committed the whole or considerable portions of it to memory. He particularly mentions VALENS, a deacon of Ælia, and JOHN, an Egyptian. The former was an aged man, but "one above all others conversant in the Divine Writings; so that when occasion offered, he could, from memory, repeat passages in any part of Scripture, as exactly as if he had unfolded the book, and read them." The latter, "had been formerly bereaved of sight, and was, together with the rest of the confessors, not only maimed in one foot, but he had the heated iron thrust into his eyes, already blind. The transcendent perfection of his memory was such, that he had the whole books of the Sacred Scriptures written, 'not on tables of stone,' as the divine apostle says, or on the skins of animals, or on paper, apt to be consumed by moths, and by time; but indeed 'on the fleshly tables of his heart,' so that whensoever he willed, he brought forth, as from a repository of science, and repeated, either the law of Moses, or the Prophets, or the historical, evangelical, and apostolical parts of Scripture."[60]

The Tenaciousness of memory, exhibited by these ancient worthies, is almost without parallel in ancient or modern times, except in that prodigy of memory, the late Rev. THOMAS. THRELKELD of Rochdale, Lancashire. He was a perfect living concordance to the English Scriptures.

(59) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. ch. vii.

(60) Eusebius, of the Martyrs in Palestine, translated by Dalrymple, pp 61, 87.

If three words only were mentioned, except perhaps those words of *mere connection*, which occur in hundreds of passages, he could immediately, without hesitation, assign the *chapter* and *verse* where they were to be found. And, inversely, upon mentioning the chapter and verse, he could repeat the *words*. This power of retention enabled him, with ease, "to make himself master of many languages. Nine, or ten, it is certainly known that he read; not merely without difficulty, but with profound and critical skill. It is affirmed, by a friend who lived near him, and was in the habits of intimacy with him, that he was familiarly acquainted with every language, in which he had a Bible, or New Testament." After his decease I had opportunity of examining his library, and noticed Bibles, or New Testaments, in English, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Welch, Dutch, Swedish, Gaelic, and Manks; besides Grammars, &c. in other languages. In the Greek Testament, his powers of immediate reference and quotation, were similar to those he possessed in the English translation; since he could in a moment produce every place in which the same word occurred, in any of its forms, or affinities. In the Hebrew, with its several dialects, he was equally, that is, most profoundly skilled; and it is believed, that his talent of immediate reference was as great here, as in the Greek, or even in the English.[61]

(61) See a Sermon preached at Rochdale, April 13th, 1806, on occasion of the death of the Rev. T. Threlkeld, by Thomas Barnes, D. D.

CHAPTER II.

FOURTH CENTURY.

Opposition to Christianity. Constantine. Gregory the Illuminator. Councils. Chrysostom's Writings illustrative of Sacred Literature. Julian. Apollinarii. Valentinian. Valens. Gothic Version. Codex Argenteus. Francis Junius. Dr. Thomas Marshall. George Stiernhelm. Eric Benzel. Edward Lye. Ulphilas. Ethiopic Version. Frumentius. Juvencus. Proba Falconia. Epiphanius. Vulgate. Jerom.

IN the year 304, or 305, Dioclesian resigned the empire, and Maximian, his colleague, reluctantly followed his example. They were succeeded by Galerius in the East, and by Constantius in the West. Galerius, the successor of Dioclesian, chose Maximin his nephew, to be his *Cæsar*, or subordinate governor. Maximin inherited the savageness and the prejudices of his uncle, and was even his superior in the arts of persecution;—"Paganism was expiring, and it behoved the prince of darkness to find, or qualify an agent who should dispute every inch of ground with persevering assiduity."* Persons of quality filled the highest offices of idolatry, pains were taken to prevent Christians from erecting places of worship, or from following their religion in public or private; and incited by the example of the tyrant, all the Pagans in his dominions exerted themselves to effect the ruin of the Christians, and human ingenuity was put to the stretch, to invent calumnies in support of the kingdom of darkness. "At length," says Eusebius, "having forged certain Acts of

* Milner's History of the Church,

PILATE concerning our Saviour, which were full of all sorts of blasphemy against Christ, they caused them, by the decree of Maximin, to be dispersed through all the parts of his empire; commanding by their letters, that they should be published to all persons in every place, both in cities and country places; and that school-masters should put them into the hands of children, to be committed to memory."[1] This mode of promoting the cause of infidelity, by associating false and vicious ideas with the names of the eminent characters mentioned in Scriptures, has been since followed by the Jews, in their *Toldoth Yesu*, and by Voltaire and his associates, in the *Taureau Blanc*, and other infamous publications.

By a decree of the Roman senate, CONSTANTINE, usually styled the *Great*, the son of Constantius, and a native of Britain, being declared First *Augustus*, or chief Emperor, and Licinius his associate; they, in the year 313, published an edict, in their joint names, in favour of the Christians. Licinius afterwards persecuted the church of Christ; Constantine and he quarrelled, and a war soon commenced between the two princes. Constantine was victorious, and in A. D. 324, became sole master of the empire. From that time he professed himself a convert to the religion of Jesus, and more than ever laboured, not only to defend the Christians, but after his manner, to spread Christianity itself.[2] We lament, however, that the methods he adopted, savoured more of the savage barbarity of a pagan warrior, than of the mild and persuasive disposition of a true Christian. Elmacin, or El-Makin relates, that as it was supposed many of the Jews had professed to be Christians, while they continued Jews in their hearts, swine's flesh was boiled, and cut into mouthfuls, and a portion placed at the doors of every church.

(1) Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. Lib. ix. cap. v.
(2) Eusebius's Life of Constantine. Camb. 1682. fol.

All that entered were obliged to eat a piece of the flesh. Those that were Jews in their hearts refused; thus they were detected, and immediately put to death.[3] A much wiser method, and one more congenial with the religion he professed, was adopted by him, when he placed Bibles in the churches, for the use of the people. Eusebius informs us, that he himself was ordered by the emperor, to provide FIFTY GREEK BIBLES, or more probably, only the principal books, at the public expense, for different churches. The following is a copy of Constantine's letter to Eusebius:

"VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to EUSEBIUS."

"In that city which bears our name, (Constantinople,) by the assistance of God our Saviour's Providence, a vast multitude of men have joined themselves to the most holy church. Whereas therefore all things do there receive a very great increase, it seems highly requisite, that there should be more churches erected in that city. Wherefore do you most willingly receive that which I have determined to do. For it seemed fit to signify to your prudence, that you should order FIFTY COPIES OF THE DIVINE SCRIPTURES, (the provision and use whereof you know to be chiefly necessary for the instruction of the church,) to be written on well-prepared parchment, by artificial transcribers of books, most skilful in the art of accurate and fair writing; which (copies) must be very legible, and easily portable, in order to their being used. Moreover, letters are dispatched away from our clemency, to the rationalist of the diœcesis,* that he should take care for the providing of all things necessary, in order to the finishing

(3) Hottingeri Eccles. Hist. I. pt. i. ch. iv. pp. 197, 198. 1651. 12mo.

* DIŒCESIS, or DIOCŒSIS, was originally a civil government, composed of divers provinces; and the *Katholikon* or RATIONALIST, one of the civil governors, or officers. Hence the ecclesiastical term *Diocese*, for the jurisdiction of a bishop, and *Diocesan*, applied to a bishop in relation to his clergy.

of the said copies. This therefore shall be the work of your diligence, to see that the written copies be forthwith provided. You are also empowered, by the authority of this our letter, to have the use of two public carriages, in order to their conveyance. For by this means, those which are transcribed fair, may most commodiously be conveyed even to our sight; to wit, one of the deacons of your church being employed in the performance hereof. Who, when he comes to us, shall be made sensible of our bounty. GOD preserve you, Dear Brother!"

This munificent order, for such it was considered, was immediately attended to, and completed; and, in the words of Eusebius, "sent him in volumes magnificently adorned."[4]

A similar display of liberality was made by this prince, when he transferred the seat of his empire to Byzantium, or Constantinople, in the year 336; for being desirous of making reparation to the Christians, for the injuries they had sustained during the reign of his tyrannical predecessor, he commanded the most diligent search to be made after those books which had been doomed to destruction; caused transcripts to be made of such books as had escaped the Dioclesian persecution; added others to them, and with the whole, formed a valuable Library, in the city of the imperial residence. On the death of Constantine, the number of books contained in the imperial library, was six thousand nine hundred, but in the time of Theodosius the younger, it contained one hundred thousand. Of these, more than half were burned in the eighth century, by command of the emperor Leo III. in order to destroy all the monuments that might be quoted, in proof against his opposition to the worship of images. In this library was deposited the only authentic copy of the Council of Nice, which was unfortunately consumed, together with a magnificent copy of the FOUR

(4) Eusebius's Life of Constantine, Lib. iv. cap. xxxvi.

GOSPELS, bound in plates of gold, to the weight of fifteen pounds, and enriched with precious stones, which had been given by pope Gregory III. to the church dedicated to our Saviour.[5]

Early in the *fourth* century GREGORY, the apostle and bishop of ARMENIA, surnamed the *Illuminator*, with laudable zeal, obtained the approbation of the Sovereign of the country to establish *Schools*, or academies, in every city, and to appoint doctors, and masters over them; and published through all the cities, invitations to the inhabitants, to send their children, that they might be taught the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.[6]

During this century also, various councils were held, which published canons considerably illustrative of the opinions and practices of the age. The council of Nice, convened by Constantine, A. D. 325, ordained, "That no Christian should be without the Scriptures." The council of Antioch, held A. D. 341, decreed, "That any person coming into the church, and only staying to hear the Scriptures, and neither uniting in the prayers, nor partaking of the eucharist, should be excommunicated." The council of Laodicea, in 367, enjoined in its sixteenth canon, "That the Gospels, with the other Scriptures, ought to be read on the Sabbath-day;" by which was meant, that in the public assemblies, which were in that age held on the *Sabbath-day*, as the *Saturday* was then usually called, the Scriptures should be read in the same order as on the *Lord's-day*, or *Sunday*, and not be omitted to be read. The seventeenth canon of the same council directs, "That the Psalms shall not be sung one immediately after another, but, that a *Lesson* shall be read after every Psalm." And the fifty-ninth canon ordains, "That Psalms composed by private men, or uncanonical books, should not be

(5) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, I. p. xxiii.
Lomeir, De Bibliothecis, cap. vii. sec. 2. pp. 131—134.
(6) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. de Scripturis &c. p. 18.
Butler's Lives of the Saints, IX. Sep. 30.

read in the church, but only the canonical books of the *Old* and *New Testament.*[7]

The writings of Chrysostom, the eloquent patriarch of Constantinople, furnish us with much additional and interesting information, respecting the Sacred Scriptures, during this century, and the commencement of the following; especially, in those churches which were subject to the Greek patriarch. From him we learn, that the *Scriptures*, or parts of them, were very generally dispersed among the people, since he repeatedly exhorts even the poorest of them, to make the Scriptures their daily study, to read them after their usual meals, and in the hearing of their wives and children; assuring them, that "the servant and the rustic, the widow and the infant, might understand them." The excuses made by some for their neglect of the Sacred Writings, present the monks of that day in a favourable light, as students in the Word of God: "We have not renounced the world," said they; "we are not monks; we have wives and children." "Are the Scriptures then to be read only by monks?" replies the worthy patriarch, "or are they not still more necessary for you, as the man, who is daily exposed to danger and to wounds, stands most in need of the physician?" From the same source we acquire the knowledge, that it was usual for the deacons, during the reading of the *Lessons*, in the churches, frequently to command "silence," and direct the attention of the congregation to the reader, by loudly calling, "attend!" And for the reader, on rising to read the Scriptures, to commence by solemnly saying, "Thus saith the Lord." We are also informed, that it was common, especially for women and children, to have the Gospels hung round their necks, and constantly to carry them about with them; and that many of the rich, in their book-cases, or studies, preserved magnificent co-

(7) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. de Scripturis &c. cap. vii. sec. i. pp. 193—195, Johnson's Clergyman's Vade Mecum, II. 4th. edit. Lond. 1731.

pies of the Sacred Writings, executed in the most beautiful characters, on the finest vellum.[8]

Complete copies of the Scriptures were, nevertheless, extremely rare, and could seldom be obtained by any but the most affluent; as the following circumstance, which shows the high value set upon a single copy of the Gospels, sufficiently proves. HILARION, the first instituter of the monastic state in the East, having embarked at Paretonium, in Libya, with one companion, for Sicily, landed at Pachynus, a famous promontory on the eastern side of the island, now called Capo di Passaro. Upon landing, he offered to pay for his passage, and that of his companion, with *a Copy of the Gospels*, which he had written in his youth with his own hand; but the master seeing their whole stock consisted in that manuscript, and the clothes on their backs, refused to accept of it, and generously forgave the debt.[9]

In the year 361, JULIAN, the *Apostate*, was advanced to the empire. During the reign of Constantius, he had acted with the most profound dissimulation, and so far proceeded in his hypocritical profession of Christianity, as to be ordained *Reader*, in the church of Nicomedia; but, on his accession to the throne, he threw off the disguise, and became the avowed and active patron of paganism, and every art that the most refined policy could suggest, was practised for its advancement, and for the depression and overthrow of Christianity. To effect his purpose, he endeavoured to render the Christians ignorant and contemptible; and with this view, forbade the Christian professors to teach Gentile learning, "lest being furnished," says he, "with our armour, they make war upon us with our own weapons." He also commanded, that the writings of Christian authors should be destroyed, but that those of

(8) See the different quotations from Chrysostom's *Works*, in Usher's Hist. Dogmat. de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis, cap. ii. pp. 63—50. Lond. 1690, 4to.

(9) Butler's Lives, X. Oct. 21.
Gibbon's Decline and Fall, VI. ch. xxxvii. p. 246. 8vo.

profane authors should be preserved. His epistle to Ecdicius, Prefect of Egypt, respecting the library of George, of Cappadocia, the Arian archbishop of Alexandria, so fully delineates the character of Julian, that I will present it to the reader:

"To Ecdicius, Prefect of Egypt."

"Some delight in horses, some in birds, and others in wild beasts. I, from my childhood, have always been inflamed with a passionate love for books. I think it absurd to suffer these to fall into the hands of wretches, whose avarice gold alone cannot satiate, as they are also clandestinely endeavouring to pilfer these. You will therefore oblige me extremely, by collecting all the books of George.* He had many, I know, on philosophical and rhetorical subjects, and many on the doctrine of the impious Galileans. *All these I would have destroyed;* but lest others more valuable should be destroyed with them, let them all be carefully examined. The secretary of George may assist you in this disquisition, and if he acts with fidelity, he shall be rewarded with freedom; if not, *he may be put to the torture.* I am not unacquainted with this library, for when I was in Cappadocia, George lent me several books to be transcribed, which I afterwards returned to him."[10]

The prohibition of human learning decreed by this emperor, induced the Apollinarii, father and son, to invent something which might serve as a substitute for the loss. The father, a native of Alexandria, was a presbyter of the church of Laodicea, the son occupied the place of reader. Both were teachers of Grecian literature; the

* George of Cappadocia, was the rival of Athanasius. On the accession of Julian, he was dragged in chains to the public prison, and at the end of twenty-four days massacred by an infuriate and superstitious mob, who forced open the prison, and after murdering the archbishop, carried his lifeless body in triumph through the streets, on the back of a camel.

(10) Duncombe's Epistles of Julian, Ep. ix. pp. 17—19.

father taught grammar, the son rhetoric; both were persons of superior capacity; the son, particularly, was one of the greatest men of his time, in learning, genius, and powers of argument; and his answer to Porphyry, is looked upon as the best defence of Christianity against paganism. To compensate for the loss of the classical authors, from which the Christians were debarred, by the edict of the emperor, they composed a Grammar on a Christian model, turned the BOOKS OF MOSES into *Heroic* verse, paraphrased the HISTORICAL BOOKS, in imitation of the Greek tragedians; and in the various works which they composed, adopted all the different kinds of verse, and modes of writing, employed by the most celebrated Greek authors. The translation of the PSALMS into Greek verse, by the younger Apollinarius, is still extant, and highly commended;[11] but how far their other writings merited the rank of classics, cannot now be ascertained, for on the death of Julian, in 363, the prohibition ceasing, Christian scholars returned to their former studies, and the classical imitations of the Apollinarii sank into disuse.

JOVIAN, an avowed Christian, succeeded Julian in the empire; and on the death of Jovian, which happened suddenly, not without suspicion of poison, in 364, Valentinian was advanced to the purple by the suffrages of the army. Thirty days after his own elevation, he associated his brother Valens in the empire; both were Christians, but adopted different measures in the churches, under their respective government. In the West, Valentinian adhered to the orthodox faith, whilst in the East, Valens countenanced the Arian principles, and persecuted those who dissented from the creed he maintained. At Edessa, the orthodox, driven from the churches, were wont to assemble in a field. At first, Valens ordered them to be dispersed; but the resolution of a woman, who hastened

(11) Cavei, Historia Literaria, pp. 176. 202. Lond. 1688, fol. Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, II. pp. 126. 248.

thither as on purpose to suffer martyrdom, staggered his mind, and caused him to cease from the attempt. Afterwards, he sent the pastors of Edessa into banishment. Amongst those who were conducted to Antinous, a city in Thebais, in Egypt, was one named Protogenes. Desirous of communicating a knowledge of the truths of the Scripture to the inhabitants, of whom the greater part were pagans, he commenced a school, in which he taught the children the art of writing swiftly, (ad celeri manu scribendum,) and then dictated to them the *Psalms of David*, and suitable passages of the *New Testament*, thus rendering the instruction in writing subservient to the multiplication of copies, of the principal portions of the Holy Scriptures, and to the more extensive spread of the Gospel.[12] On the other hand, Ambrose, the excellent bishop of Milan, who died about the year 397, "admired, regretted, and lamented, by the whole Christian world," affirms, that the Arians corrupted the Word of God, and gives us, as an instance of the frauds practised by them, the erasure of John iv. 24, from the Sacred Volume, which he says took place at Milan, in the time of his Arian predecessor Auxertius.[13]

In the reign of Valens, ULPHILAS, bishop of the Goths, immortalized his name, by his GOTHIC translation from the Greek, of the whole, or a considerable part of the Scriptures. A man of superior genius and endowments, he not only laboured with unwearied assiduity to transfuse the sublime doctrines of Holy Writ into a barbarous dialect, but invented, and taught his countrymen, the use of letters more suited to the Scriptures, and a state of civilization, than those of the barren Runic alphabet, to which they had hitherto been accustomed. Philostorgius asserts, that Ulphilas omitted the *Book of*

(12) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. de Scripturis &c. p. 30, Milner's Hist. of the Church, II. p. 161.
(13) Ibid. II. p. 236.

Kings, from an apprehension that the martial spirit of his nation might be roused by the relation of the Jewish wars; but this circumstance has been controverted by several learned men, who consider Philostorgius unworthy of credit; Gibbon, however, remarks, that the Arianism "of Philostorgius appears to have given him superior means of information."[14]

Of this important version, the principal remains are contained in the famous CODEX ARGENTEUS, or *Silver Book*, a MS. preserved in the library of the University of Upsal, in Sweden. It is impressed, or written, on very fine, thin, smooth vellum, of a quarto form, and purple colour, though some sheets have a pale violet hue; and has received the name of ARGENTEUS, from its *Silver Letters*; but the three first lines of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. Mark, are impressed with *golden* foil, as those of St. Matthew and St. John would most probably be found to be, were they still in existence. When, the commencement of a section, or capitulary takes place at the beginning of the line, the whole is distinguished by golden characters; but if in the middle, or any other portion, such part of a line only is thus splendidly ornamented. The beginning of the Lord's Prayer, and the titles of the Evangelists, are also illuminated in gold. Unfortunately it has suffered several mutilations. It is supposed to have been the property of Alaric, king of Thoulouse, whose kingdom and palace were plundered and destroyed by Chlodovic, (commonly named Clovis,) in the year 507; or of Amalaric, whom Childebert overcame in battle, in the year 531. For many centuries this book was preserved in the monastery of Werden, in Westphalia, where it was discovered in 1597, by Anthony Marillon, who extracted a few passages, which were inserted in a "Commentary on the Gothic Alphabet," published by Bonaventura Vulca-

(14) Gibbon's D. and F. VI. ch. xxxvii. p. 269, Note. Lond. 8vo. 1807. Philostorgii Eccles. Hist. Lib. ii, cap. v, Genev. 1642, 4to.

nius. Soon afterwards, Arnold Mercator observed it in the same library; and transcribed a few verses, which Gruter gave to the world in his "Inscriptiones Antiquæ." When that district was ravaged by the triennial war, in the seventeenth century, it was transmitted to Prague, for security. Subsequently, Count Konigsmark took this city by storm, when it came into the possession of the Swedes, and afterwards enriched the library of Holme. After lying some time in the library of queen Christina, it suddenly disappeared, without any one being able to account for the loss, and was again brought to light in the Netherlands. Some have supposed that Isaac Vossius received it as a present from the Queen, others that he brought it away by stealth. The latter is the more probable, since during the confusion which preceded Christina's abdication, he is said to have pillaged the royal library, and carried away many rare books and MSS. The recollection of these literary depredations, is perpetuated by a curious collection, called *Furta Vossiana*, still preserved in the library at Leyden, and supposed to have been stolen by him whilst in Sweden. Puffendorf, journeying through Holland, in 1662, found it in his possession, and purchased it for Count de la Gardie, for 400 rix-dollars, (Coxe says £250.) who presented it to the royal library at Upsal, where it now remains.[15]

This part of the Gothic version has been several times printed; first at Dort, in 1665, 4to. in Gothic letters, or such as are found in the *Codex Argenteus*, by Francis Junius, and Thomas Marshall, who borrowed the MS. from Vossius, and accompanied with a "Glossary," and "Observations." Again in *Latin* letters, by the learned Stiernhelm, in 1671, at Stockholm, accompanied with the Icelandic, the Swedish, and the Latin Vulgate. But the

(15) Henshall's Gothic Gospel of St. Matthew, pp. 35, 36, 44—47.
Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. sec. 32. pp. 133, 134.
Coxe's Travels in Poland, &c. IV. B. vii. ch. vi. pp. 173—180.

best edition hitherto published, is the one prepared for the press by the Swedish Archbishop Benzel, who was head-librarian at Upsal. This excellent man had devoted whole years to the study of the Codex Argenteus, but after having taken a fresh copy, and written a Latin translation, he died in 1743, aged 70, before the work was published. The task, however, was finished by the Rev. Edward Lye, to whom he had transmitted his collations and translation before his death, who prefixed a short, but valuable preface, and a Gothic Grammar. It was printed at Oxford, in 1750.

The following brief notices of the editors of the *Codex Argenteus*, may be acceptable to the reader.

Francis Junius, or Du Jon, son of Francis Junius, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, and co-adjutor of Tremellius in the translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, was born at Heidelberg, in 1589. He received the early part of his education at Leyden, but on the death of his father in 1602, directed his studies to a preparation for a military life, which he had determined to embrace. The conclusion of the war, in 1609, altered his plans; he devoted himself to literature, published some of his father's works, and then travelled to France and England. For thirty years he resided in England, in the family of Thomas, Earl of Arundel; and having frequent opportunities of visiting Oxford, he applied with unwearied assiduity to the study of the Gothic and Saxon tongues, and the various dialects derived from them. Whilst on a visit to the continent, to obtain more accurate information relative to the ancient Saxon language, he met with the *MS. of the Gothic version of the Scriptures*, which he published, accompanied with the Notes of Dr. Marshall. In 1674, he returned into England; and in 1677, died of a fever at Windsor, aged 88. He made a deed of gift of all his MSS. and collections, to the public library of Oxford. The chief of these was his *Glossarium Gothicum*, in five

languages, contained in 9 volumes, which Bishop Fell caused to be transcribed for the press. The *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, was published in 1743, in folio, by Edward Lye, M. A.[16]

THOMAS MARSHALL, D. D. born at Barkby, in Leicestershire, about 1621, was entered of Lincoln College in 1640; but on the breaking out of the civil wars, bore arms in defence of King Charles; and was therefore in 1645, admitted B. A. without paying fees. He afterwards went to Rotterdam, and became preacher to the English merchants there and at Dort. In 1661, he was made B. D. and in 1688, chosen Fellow, without his solicitation or knowledge. In 1669, he commenced D. D. and in 1672, was elected Rector of his college. He was afterwards appointed Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, and Rector of Bladon; and in 1681, was installed Dean of Gloucester. He died at Lincoln College, in 1685. He prefixed *An Epistle for the English reader*, to Dr. Thomas Hyde's translation into the *Malayan* tongue of the *Four Gospels*, and the *Acts of the Apostles*. Oxf. 1677.[17]

GEORGE STIERNHELM, was a Swedish nobleman, a native of the province of Westmania, Counsellor of War, and President of the Royal College of Antiquities of Stockholm. He flourished about A. D. 1671.[18]

ERIC BENZEL, or BENZELIUS, was born in 1673, at Upsal, in Sweden, where he began, and completed his studies. Having travelled into Germany, England, and France, he returned to Upsal, in 1702, and was appointed Librarian to the University, an office which he held for twenty-two years. In 1724, he was nominated Professor of Divinity; and successively created Bishop of Gottenburg, and Lindkioping, and Archbishop of Upsal, of which his father had previously enjoyed the dignity. The *Re-*

(16) Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dict. XIX. pp. 198, 199. Lempriere's Univ. Biog.
(17) Chalmers' Gen Biog. Dict. XXI. pp. 350, 351.
(18) Le Long, I. *Index Auctor.*

view of Swedish books, &c. commenced by Benzel and his associates, in 1720, under the title of *Acta Literaria Sueciæ*, and continued for ten years, laid the foundation of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Upsal. He died in 1743.[19]

Edward Lye was a learned linguist and antiquary, born at Totness, in Devonshire, in 1704, and educated under his father, and at Hart-Hall, (now Hertford College,) Oxford, where he took his degree of M. A. in 1722. Having been ordained priest, he was soon afterwards presented to the living of Houghton-parva, in Northamptonshire. In this retreat he gained much of his knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language; and published Junius's "Etymologicum Anglicanum." In 1750, he became a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and about the same time was presented by the Earl of Northampton, to the Vicarage of Yardley Hastings, where he died in 1767. His great work, the *Anglo-Saxon and Gothic Dictionary*, left in MS. at his death, was published with two Grammars, by the Rev. Owen Manning, in 1772, in 2 vols. fol.[20]

In 1763, F. A. Knittel published another fragment of the version of Ulphilas, taken from the Codex Carolinus, in the library of Wolfenbuttel. In this library an ancient MS. is preserved, written in the eighth or ninth century, of the "Origines" of Isidore of Spain, a part of which is written on vellum, on which part the version of Ulphilas had been written in Gothic characters, accompanied with an old Latin version, in a parallel column. Through ignorance of its nature, the vellum leaves had been gradually torn out to serve for coverings to other books, but being fortunately discovered by Knittel, before the whole was destroyed, he, with very great difficulty, decyphered both the Gothic and the Latin, and published them with learned notes and essays, under the following title: *Ulphilæ*

(19) Coxe's Travels, IV. p. 185, Note.
(20) Chalmers, XXI. pp. 9, 10.

versionem Gothicum nonnullorum capitum epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos. This part contains only the few following passages: Rom. xi. 33—36. xii. 1—5. 17—21. xiii. 1—5. xiv. 9—20. xv. 3—13. These fragments are also inserted at the end of vol. 2, of Lye's "Saxon, Gothic, and Latin Dictionary."[21]

ULPHILAS, or WULPHILAS, the author of this version, was a descendant from some of the bishops who had been carried captive by the Goths, in their incursions into Asia, during the reign of Gallienus. He flourished in the latter part of the *fourth century.* Several occurrences prove the high estimation in which he was universally held; in particular the various and difficult embassies in which he was employed, and always with success. Coming Ambassador to Constantine, he was ordained first Bishop of the Christian Goths, by Eusebius, of Nicomedia. Returning to his charge, he discovered a holy zeal in his sacred office, and earnestly laboured for the conversion of the surrounding Pagans. His missionary exertions were rewarded with numerous conversions, though accompanied with no small degree of danger to himself. He is also said to have contributed much towards the civilization of the barbarous people under his care.

His *Learning* must have been extensive, for the age in which he lived. Versed not only in the Gothic and Greek, but also in the Latin, it was still necessary for him to possess a critical knowledge of the formation of language in general, to enable him to invent letters, and construct new words and sentences, expressive of the sense of the Sacred Scripture, and suited to the genius of the language in which he wrote. His *Manners,* if we judge from circumstances, appear to have been mild and persuasive, dignified and gentle, uniting the courtier and the Christian bishop.

(21) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. p. 136.
Bibliog. Dict. VI. p. 216.

Sent by Fritigern to the court of Valens, to implore aid against Athanaric, the sovereign of the Ostrogoths, he succeeded in his embassy; but, unfortunately, was induced by Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople, to regard the dispute respecting Arius, as a mere verbal difference, and to communicate with the Arians, in which he was followed by the rest of the Gothic Christians. At length, after a life of unwearied zeal in the cause of religion, and of patriotic labours for the welfare of his country, he sank into the grave, in a good old age; and "the memory of the just shall be blessed!"[22]

The ETHIOPIC version also, is generally supposed to have been made during this century. Chrysostom, who lived towards the close of that age, in his first Homily on the Gospel of John, says, "The Syrians, the Egyptians, the Indians, the Persians, the Ethiopians, and a multitude of other nations, having translated this Gospel into their own languages, the barbarians have learned to be philosophers."[23]

The ancient capital of ETHIOPIA, or ABYSSINIA, was *Saba;* and the Queen whom the wisdom of Solomon attracted to Palestine, was the sovereign of that country. The *Ethiopic* language into which the translations of the Holy Writings were made, and which was denominated *Gheez*, is the ancient and learned language of Abyssinia, not the language now in use. The language which it nearest resembles, is the Arabic; but it differs from that, and all the kindred languages of the East, by being written from the left to the right hand, and expressing the vowels by determinate characters, and not by points.[24] The following is the statement of Mr. Bruce, the celebrated

(22) Sacror. Evang. Versio Gothica. Præfat. Benzelii cap. viii, p. xxx—xxxv. Oxon. 1750, 4to.
Cavei Hist. Lit. Sæc. iv. p. 182.
Milner's Hist. of the Church, II. pp. 168. 240,
(23) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. ii. p. 611.
Waltoni Proleg. xv.
(24) Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, I. p. 172.

traveller, on the Ethiopic Scriptures, as they exist in Abyssinia: "The Abyssinians have the Scriptures entire, as we have, and reckon the same number of books; but they divide in another manner, at least in private hands; few of them, from extreme poverty, being able to purchase the whole, either of the Historical or Prophetical Books of the Old Testament. The same may be said of the New; for copies containing the whole of it are very scarce. Indeed nowhere, except in churches, do you see more than the Gospels, or the Acts of the Apostles, in one person's possession, and it must not be an ordinary man that possesses even these. Many books of the Old Testament are forgotten: so that it is the same trouble to procure them even in churches, for the purpose of copying, as to consult old records, long covered with rubbish."[25]

Mr. Bruce, on his return from Abyssinia, in 1773, brought a number of Ethiopic MSS. among which were the following, said by his biographer, to be in the library at Kinnaird, the family residence.

1. The OLD TESTAMENT, in five large quarto volumes, each about a foot in length and breadth. These contain all the books in our canon, except the Psalms, and several of the Apocrypha. A book called the *Prophecies of Enoch*, is inserted before that of Job. The *Psalms* are common in Abyssinia, but by some accident, Mr. Bruce had no copy of them.

2. Two copies of the GOSPELS, in four volumes, two of which are in small quarto.

3. The ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, and all the EPISTLES in our canon, with the REVELATION OF ST. JOHN, in two small quarto volumes, uniform with the Gospels before mentioned.

4. A copy of the SONG OF SOLOMON, in the Amharic,

(25) Owen's Hist. of the British and Foreign Bible Society, II. p. 362. Murray's Account of the Life and Writings of James Bruce, Esq. Append. p. 297. Edinb. 1808, 4to.

the Falashan, the Gafat, the Agow, the Tcheretz Agow, and the Galla languages, along with a vocabulary of these languages.[26]

The *Ethiopic* version of the *Psalms*, with the *Song of Solomon*, were printed at Rome, so early as 1513. The *Psalms* were reprinted in 1515, at Cologne; and again with the *Song of Solomon*, in the London Polyglott. The celebrated Ethiopic scholar Ludolf, published two editions at Francfort, in 1701. The one was accompanied with a Latin translation, for the benefit of Europeans; the other was solely Ethiopic, being destined for the use of the natives, and was sent by the Dutch for that purpose to Abyssinia. The only portions of the *Historical* books of the Old Testament, which have been printed, are the four first chapters of GENESIS, and the book of RUTH, the former repeatedly; the latter by J. G. Nisselius, in 1660. Of the *Prophets*, only JOEL, JONAH, ZEPHANIAH, and MALACHI exist in print; of various dates, and by different editors. The NEW TESTAMENT was printed in Ethiopic, at Rome, in 1548, under the direction of three native Ethiopians, whose names were *Tesfa-Sion*, *Tensea-Wald*, and *Zaslask*, and who were all sons of Tecla Haimanot, of the Romish monastery of Mount Libanus. They assumed the Latin names of *Petrus*, *Paulus*, and *Bernardinus*. This edition was afterwards reprinted in the London Polyglott, with a Latin translation by Dudley Loftus. It has been reprinted since, with a more accurate Latin translation by professor Bode, at Brunswick, in 1752—1755, in 2 volumes quarto. The EPISTLES of St. JAMES, St. JOHN, and St. JUDE, were printed at Leyden, in 1654, accompanied with an Arabic translation by THEOD. PETRÆUS.[27] The ancient *Ethiopic* version is generally supposed to have been made by Frumentius, who first

(26) Murray's Life &c. of James Bruce, Esq. *ubi sup.*

(27) Le Long. Bib. Sacra. ed. Masch, I. pt. ii. sec. 6. pp. 145—157. Marsh's Hist. of Translations, pp. 95, 96. Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. ch. vii. sec. 17. and pt. ii. p. 612.

preached Christianity in Ethiopia, in the fourth century.

FRUMENTIUS, the apostle of Ethiopia, called FREMONAT by the Abyssinians, was the nephew of Meropius, a philosopher of Tyre. Meropius, undertaking a voyage to India, carried with him two of his nephews, Frumentius, and Edesius, with whose education he was intrusted. In the course of the voyage homewards, the vessel touched at a certain port of the Red Sea, to take in provisions and fresh water. The barbarians of that country, who had a little before broken their league with the Romans, seized the ship, and murdered all the passengers and crew, except the two youths, who were studying their lessons under a tree at some distance. Their innocence and tender age moved the barbarians to compassion; their lives were spared: and being presented to the King, who resided at Axum, then the capital of Ethiopia, but now a mean village, called *Accum*, he was so charmed with their wit and sprightliness, that he not only took special care of their education, but in a short time took them into his service, making Edesius his cup-bearer, and Frumentius, who was the elder, his treasurer and secretary of state, entrusting him with all the public writings and accounts. These offices they fulfilled with integrity and honour, and so much to the satisfaction of their royal patron, that on his death-bed he thanked them for their services, and gave them their liberty. After his decease, the Queen, who was left regent for her eldest son, entreated them to continue at court, to assist her in the education of her son, and the government of the state. The principal management of affairs was committed to Frumentius, who by his fidelity and ability, proved the greatest support and comfort to the queen. But the pious mind of Frumentius was not so absorbed by attention to secular business, as to neglect the promotion of Christianity; for which purpose he engaged several Christian merchants, who traded there, to settle in the country; and procured for them great pri-

vileges, and all the conveniences for their religious worship; and by his own fervour and example strongly recommended the true religion to the Ethiopians. When the young king, whose name was Aizan, came to age, and took the reins of government into his own hands, the brothers resigned their posts; but though intreated to stay, Edesius returned to Tyre, and Frumentius to Alexandria. On his arrival at Alexandria, Frumentius related to the patriarch Athanasius, his whole history, and earnestly entreated him to send missionaries to Ethiopia, not doubting but their labours would prove successful to the conversion of that nation to Christianity. Athanasius summoned his clergy together, and by their unanimous advice, ordained Frumentius himself Bishop of the Ethiopians. Vested with the sacred character, Frumentius went back to Axum, where he had already been distinguished by his integrity and capacity, and had gained the esteem and veneration of the people, by the administration of the secular concerns of government, and by the education of their sovereign. Eminently successful in his missionary labours, he was able to number the sovereign, and his brother Sazan, whom he had associated in the throne, among the converts to the Christian faith; churches were everywhere erected; and at length Christianity became the avowed religion of the nation. Constantius, the Roman emperor, laboured to bring them over to the adoption of the principles of Arius, and strove to obtain the deposition of Frumentius, but in vain; for the difficulty of access to this region, which has since proved prejudicial to the advancement of knowledge among its inhabitants, was at that time a happy preservative to the infant church, and placed the country out of the reach of his imperial bigotry. The time of the decease of Frumentius is not exactly ascertained; the Latins commemorate him on the the 27th of October; the Greeks on the 30th of November; but of the year, we are

entirely ignorant. The Abyssinians still honour him as the apostle of the Axumites, and place the two kings, Aizan and Sazan, or Abreha and Atzbeha, among their saints.[28]

The old translation of the *Ethiopic* Scriptures having become nearly obsolete, by being written in the ancient and learned language of the country, attempts have been made, in more modern times, to translate the Sacred Volume into the AMHARIC, or vulgar dialect of Abyssinia; particularly under the direction of M. Asselin, the French Chargè d' affaires at Grand Cairo, who, in a communication to the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1814, states, that the *Amharic*, as spoken at Gondar, is the prevalent dialect in the eastern parts of Africa, which border on the equator; and that it is through this dialect all intercourse is maintained between the natives of Abyssinia, and the Arabians and the negroes of the interior; and concludes by informing the society, that he has transmitted to England GENESIS and EXODUS in that dialect. Baron Silvester de Sacy, of Paris, also, in a report presented to the Royal Institute of France, on the labours of M. Asselin, affords the following interesting information respecting the *Amharic* dialect: "The language," says he, "which we commonly call *Ethiopic*, and which the Abyssinians call *Lisana Gheez*, that is to say, the language of the kingdom, is that of the province of Tigre, to which appertained the celebrated city of Axum. It was the common language of Abyssinia, down to the period at which Axum ceased to be the royal residence, and when the authority passed into the hands of the princes who spoke the Amharic dialect. The *Gheez*, however, continued to be the only dialect used in public worship, and in all acts of government; the only dialect, in short, used in writing. Thus the Egyptians call it the *language of*

(28) Socrat. Scholast. Eccles. Hist. Lib. i. cap. xix.
Butler's Lives of the Saints, X. Oct. 27.
Milner's History of the Church, II. ch. vi. pp. 103, 104.

books, while the Amharic, as being that of the reigning family, is called the *royal language.* By the help of the Amharic, one may travel through all the provinces of Abyssinia, notwithstanding the different idioms which they respectively use. Before M. Asselin, the missionaries from the Jesuits, who resided long in Abyssinia, had there translated different portions of the Sacred Scriptures into the Amharic language. None of these productions have reached Europe; nor is it known in what they consist, or what is become of them." In consequence of these, and other communications to the British and Foreign Bible Society, a sub-committee was appointed, of which, the learned and celebrated travellers, Viscount Valentia, and Henry Salt, Esq. were constituted members, for the purpose of considering the best means of furnishing the Abyssinians with the Holy Scriptures.[29]

Reverting to the *fourth century,* we find a work of that age, entitled HISTORIA EVANGELICA, in 4 books, written in good hexameter verse. It is properly the history of our Lord, as recorded in the Four Evangelists, and expressed, as nearly as possible, in the words of the Sacred Writers themselves; and is said to have been the *first* attempt to deliver the evangelical history in *verse.* The author, CAIUS VETTIUS AQUILINUS JUVENCUS, was a Christian priest and poet, born of a noble Spanish family. He flourished about A. D. 330, and was author of several other poetical works. The *Historia Evangelica* has been several times printed, and may be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum,* Tom. IV. p. 55.[30]

The CENTO VIRGILIANUS of PROBA FALCONIA may also be noticed, as an instance of the singular manner in which some of the Christians of this age pressed the heathen

(29) Owen's Hist. of the Brit. and For. Bible Society, II. pp. 359—363. Twelfth Report of B. and F. Bible Society, Appendix..No. xlviii.

(30) Cavei Hist. Lit. Sæc. iv. pp. 150. 207.
Clarke's Succession of Sacred Literature, I.
Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, II. p. 334. Lond. 1807, 4to.

pocts into the service of Christianity. It is a poem of some length, the subjects of which are the history of the *creation*, the *deluge*, and of *Christ*, and are narrated in centos from Virgil. Above seven hundred lines are so curiously selected from the works of the Mantuan bard, and so placed, that with the aid of titles to the different portions, the principal events of these Scripture histories are described in his words.

PROBA FALCONIA was the wife of a noble Roman, and eminently distinguished by piety and benevolence. The most celebrated characters of her age valued her friendship, and honoured her in their works. After the capture of Rome by Alaric, in 410, she fled, having lost her husband, with her daughter Juliana, and her grand-daughter Demetria, into Africa, where she found an asylum, and lived upon the wreck of her fortune, honoured with the esteem of the great Augustin. The time of her death is uncertain.

EPIPHANIUS, a father of the Christian church, as he has been called, is another author who claims our regard. He was born in Palestine, about A. D. 310. "To qualify himself for the study of the Holy Scriptures, he learned in his youth the Hebrew, the Egyptian, the Syriac, the Greek, and the Latin languages." About the year 367, he was chosen Bishop of Salamis, then called Constantia, in Cyprus. His principal work appeared in 374, under the title of *Panarium*, or "Box of antidotes against all heresies;" in which he gives the history of twenty heresies before Christ, and of fourscore since the promulgation of the Gospel. A COMMENTARY ON THE CANTICLES was discovered among the MSS. in the Vatican Library, by Monsignor Foggini, prefect of the library, who published an accurate edition of it at Rome, in 1750, with a learned preface. The works of Epiphanius prove him to have been a man of extensive reading, yet credulous and superstitious; but his writings are rendered valuable by his

numerous quotations from profane and ecclesiastical writers, known only by the fragments which he has preserved. In his book against heresies, he says, that the *Gospel of St. John*, and the *Acts of the Apostles*, translated into Hebrew, were kept in the treasury of the Jews at Tiberias. He died in 403, as he was returning from Constantinople to Salamis.[31]

But the most eminent Biblical scholar of the fourth century, was JEROM, whose *Revision* of the Latin version of the Bible, constitutes the principal difference of the *Vulgate* from the old *Italic*. This renowned monk was born at Stridon, now Sdrigni, a small town upon the confines of Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Italy, near Aquileia, about the year 331. His father, Eusebius, who was a Christian, sent him to finish his education at Rome. In this city he perfected his knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, his native dialect being the Illyrican; read the best authors in both languages; and made such progress in oratory, that he for some time pleaded at the bar. Whilst a student at Rome, he used on Sundays to visit, with his fellow-students, the catacombs or cemeteries of the martyrs: "When a boy," says he, "I studied the liberal arts at Rome, and was wont to make a round to visit the tombs of the apostles and martyrs, with others of the same age and inclinations, and often to descend into the caves which are dug deep into the earth, and have for walls on each side the bodies of those that are interred there."

During his residence at Rome, it was Jerom's greatest pleasure to collect a good library, and acquaint himself with all the best authors in different languages; and such was his thirst for knowledge, that in pursuing it, he not unfrequently forgot to take his usual repasts. Cicero and Plautus were his chief delight. He purchased a great

(31) Butler's Lives, V. May.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacr. I. p. 62.

many books, copied several, and procured many to be transcribed by his friends. Being arrived at man's estate, and desirous of improving his studies, he resolved upon travelling. Accompanied by his friend Bonosus, he made a tour through Gaul, where the Romans had erected several famous schools, especially at Marseilles, Toulouse, Bourdeaux, Autun, Lyons, and Triers, examining libraries, and collecting information from all quarters. At Triers, he copied St. Hilary's book *On Synods*, and his *Commentaries on the Psalms;* and whilst in this city, experienced what he regarded as a "merciful conversion to God;" and resolved upon following the profession of a monk, which in his day, meant chiefly the life of a private recluse Christian, unfettered by any certain rules or vows.

Having collected whatever he could meet with in Gaul to augment his literary treasure, he repaired to Aquileia, where, at that time, flourished many eminent and learned men. With many of them Jerom contracted so great an intimacy, that their names appear often in his writings; Chromatius, first priest, and afterwards bishop of that city, and to whom he dedicated several of his works, was one of them; Toranius Ruffinus, famous primarily for his friendship, and subsequently for his controversies with Jerom, was also a monk of Aquileia. The monastery of this city was the first into which Jerom retired; but afterwards he withdrew into the inhospitable desart of Chalcis, in Syria, where he devoted himself to reading and study, with immense industry. It was in this retirement that he commenced learning the Hebrew tongue; writing to the monk Rusticus he says, "I became a scholar to a monk who had been a Jew, to learn of him the Hebrew alphabet; and after I had most diligently studied the judicious rules of Quintilian, the copious flowing elegance of Cicero, the grave stile of Fronto, and the smoothness of Pliny, I inured myself to hissing and broken winded words. What labour it cost me, what difficulties I went through, how

often I despaired, and left off, and how I began again to learn, both I myself who felt the burden can witness, and they also who lived with me. And I thank our Lord that I now gather sweet fruit from the bitter seed of those studies."

At length, however, wearied by the opposition of the monks of Meletius's party, who persecuted him, because in speaking of the Divine nature, he used the word *Hypostasis*; and afflicted with an infirm state of health, he left the wilderness, after having passed four years in it, and went to Antioch. Here he was ordained a Presbyter of the church, but would never proceed any further in ecclesiastical dignity. Soon after his ordination he went into Palestine, and visited the principal holy places situated in different parts of that country, but made Bethlehem his most usual residence. He had recourse to the ablest Jewish doctors, to inform himself of all particulars relating to all the remarkable places mentioned in the Sacred History; and neglected no means to perfect himself in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. For this purpose he addressed himself to the most skilful among the Jews; one of his masters in particular, by whose instructions he exceedingly improved himself, spoke Hebrew with such gracefulness, true accent, and propriety of expression, that he passed among the Jewish doctors for a true Chaldean.

About the year 380, Jerom went to Constantinople, to study the Scriptures under Gregory Nazianzen, who was then bishop of that city; but upon Gregory's leaving Constantinople in 381, he returned into Palestine, from whence he was soon afterwards called to Rome, where he was detained by Pope Damasus as his Secretary, and employed by him in writing his letters, in answering the consultations of bishops, and in other important affairs of the church.

Jerom soon gained at Rome universal esteem for his

piety, learning, and eloquence; and many among the nobility, clergy, and monks, sought to be instructed by him in the Holy Scriptures. The illustrious Paula, Marcella, and other opulent and devout ladies, profited also by his instructions, and became proficients in Hebrew. Marcella, Paula, Blesilla, Eustochium, he tells us, could read and recite with equal ease, the Psalter in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues. One of his most useful letters, is that addressed to Laeta, wife of Toxotius, Paula's son, containing rules for the education of her infant daughter. A few sentences from it may induce the reader to examine the epistle itself. "Let her be brought up," says he, "as Samuel was in the temple, and the Baptist in the desert; in utter ignorance of vanity and vice. Let her never hear, learn, or discourse of any thing but what may conduce to the fear of God. Let her never hear bad words; but as soon as she can speak, let her learn some parts of the Psalms. Let her have an alphabet of little letters, made of box or ivory, the names of all which she must know, that she may play with them, and that learning may be made a diversion. When a little older, let her form each letter in wax, with her finger, guided by another's hand: then let her be invited, by prizes and presents suited to her age, to join syllables together, and to write the names of the patriarchs down from Adam. Let her have companions to learn with her, that she may be spurred on by emulation, and by hearing their praises. She is not to be scolded or brow-beaten, if slower; but to be encouraged, that she may rejoice to surpass, and be sorry to see herself outstript, and behind others; not envying their progress, but rejoicing at it, and admiring it, whilst she reproaches her own backwardness. Great care is to be taken that she conceive no aversion to studies, lest their bitterness remain in riper years. A master must be found for her, who is a man both of virtue and learning; nor will a great scholar think it beneath him to teach her

the first elements of letters, as Aristotle did Alexander the Great. That is not to be contemned, without which nothing great can be acquired. Care is necessary that she never learn what she will have afterwards to unlearn. The eloquence of the Gracchi derived its perfection from the mother's elegance and purity of language; Alexander, the conqueror of the world, could never correct the faults in his gait and manners, which he had learned in his childhood, from his master Leonidas."

After the death of Damasus, which happened in December, A. D. 384, Jerom returned to Palestine, and retired to Bethlehem, where Paula built a monastery for him, and where she also founded a nunnery, of which she was the governess. Being obliged to enlarge his monastery, he sold an estate for that purpose, which he still had in Dalmatia; and not only enlarged the monastery, but also erected an hospital, in which he entertained strangers; and when many fled to Bethlehem, on the plundering of Rome, by Alaric the Goth, in 410, he joyfully received them, and afforded them every possible succour and comfort. In this retreat he continued to pursue his studies with unwearied diligence, and though considered as a master in the Hebrew, he applied again to a famous Jewish Rabbi, called Bar-Ananias, who for a sum of money, came to teach him in the night, that he might not offend his brethren the Jews; and with indefatigable labour he acquired also the Chaldee and the Syriac. Towards the end of life, the studies of Jerom were interrupted by an incursion of barbarians, who penetrated through Egypt into Palestine; and some time afterwards by the violence and ravages of the Pelagians, who, after the council of Diospolis, in 416, relying upon the protection of John of Jerusalem, sent the year following a troop of seditious banditti to Bethlehem, who set fire to all the monasteries, and reduced them to ashes, Jerom himself escaping with difficulty, and being obliged to retire to a strong castle.

After the storm he resumed his labours, and continued them till near his death, which was occasioned by a fever, on the 30th of September, A. D. 420, in the 90th, or 91st year of his age.[32]

Jerom was a man of a most vigorous mind, but of a haughty spirit, and inclined to superstition; hence his numerous controversial writings are too frequently embittered by a sarcastic severity, unworthy a character so generally excellent; and many of his theological treatises are alloyed by the superstitious sentiments prevalent in that age. But as a biblical critic and translator his fame is secured, and after the lapse of fourteen hundred years remains undiminished in its lustre. The revisions and translation of the *Latin* Scriptures constitute his most important labours. It is probable that he was first induced to examine the accuracy of the old Latin, or *Italic* version, and to collate it with the Septuagint from which it was a translation, by a wish to silence the cavils of the Jews, who were constantly objecting to the Christians, that their translations were inaccurate; to which he was further urged by the importunity of several of his friends, and particularly of Pope Damasus, by whom also he was commissioned to undertake a critical revision of the New Testament. At first he only marked the variations of some of the books of the Old Testament, especially the Psalms, from the Greek and Hebrew, by obeluses and asterisks, after the example of Origen: but at length, convinced of the insufficiency of the old Latin version, even with all his own corrections and improvements; and having also lost the greater part of the manuscripts which contained the revision of the Old Testament, through the treachery of a person to whom they had been entrusted, and who either secreted, or destroyed them, he seriously set about making

(32) Butler's Lives, IX, Sep. 30. pp. 369—412.
Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, II. pp. 470—472.
Hody, De Bibliorum Text. Orig. Lib. iii. ch. ii. pp. 350, 359, 360.

a new one from the best Hebrew copies he could procure. This he accomplished at different intervals, and rather by starts than a continued labour, in the space of fifteen years, amidst many contradictions, reproaches, and bitter invectives. The *four books of* KINGS were first published in the year 391; soon after followed the PROPHETS; then the *books of* SOLOMON, JOB, the PSALMS, EZRA, NEHEMIAH, CHRONICLES; and last of all, the OCTATEUCH, viz. the Five Books of Moses, and Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, about the year 405. His qualifications for the work, and the peculiar advantages he possessed as a translator of the Holy Scriptures, are thus described by a late critic.[33] "His learning, whether sacred or profane, was not less extensive than Origen's; his judgment and taste were more correct and exquisite. He had a perfect knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages; and was sufficiently versed in the Hebrew. He had correct copies of the Hexapla, if not the Autograph itself before him. He was at no great distance from a famous school, (Tiberias) of Jewish Rabbins, whom he might consult as he saw occasion. He had traversed the land with his own feet, and seen with his own eyes the principal places mentioned in Sacred History. He was acquainted with the manners and customs of the country. He knew its plants, its animals, and its other productions. With all these advantages, and his superior talents, it was impossible he should not succeed."

The critical revision of the NEW TESTAMENT he completed in the year 392, or a few years earlier; the Four Gospels having been published before the death of Damasus. This revision of the New Testament, with Jerom's translation of the Old, form the ground work of the present VULGATE, so far as relates to the Canonical books, except that the *Psalms* of the Italic version have been

(33) Geddes's Prospectus of a New Translation of the Holy Bible, pp. 46, 47. Glasgow 1786. 4to.

retained, and several corrections introduced in other parts, from Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, as well as from the Italic. Jerom also translated the books of *Judith* and *Tobit*, from the Chaldee, which form a part of the Vulgate copy of the Apocrypha. His revision of the Psalms is sometimes used in the services of the Roman catholic church, and has received the name of the *Gallican* Psalter.

It has been justly observed, "that Jerom's version had the fate of many considerable works of genius. It had warm advocates, particularly among the truly learned; and violent enemies, particularly among the ignorant." Lucinius Bœticus, a noble Spaniard, and zealously attached to the Scriptures, sent six short-hand writers or copyists, from Spain to Bethlehem, in 394, to take copies of his version, and of his other works. Sophronius, at whose request Jerom had translated some parts of the Hebrew Scriptures into Latin, re-translated a part of his version into Greek; and Augustin, who at first violently opposed the translation from the Hebrew, afterwards so highly approved of it, that he extracted those passages from it which composed his *Speculum* or Mirror, a work which contained a selection of the choicest parts of Scripture, designed for those who were too poor to purchase, or too engaged to read the whole of the Sacred Writings. Yet nearly two hundred years elapsed before this translation received the sanction of the church, many of the contemporaries of Jerom regarding a translation from the Hebrew as a dangerous innovation: for, strange as it may appear, the Septuagint version was more respected in the Latin church than the Hebrew original. At that time, the now-exploded story of Seventy-Two Interpreters, all translating by divine inspiration, all translating independently, yet each of them producing the same translation, was firmly believed in the Latin, as well as the Greek church; and this belief, united with a hatred of the

Jews and an ignorance of the Hebrew, gave to the Septuagint version a higher rank than to the original itself. At the close of the sixth century, Pope Gregory the Great gave to Jerom's translation the sanction of papal authority, by acknowledging that he considered it as superior to any other of the Latin versions, and therefore made use of it himself; and in a short time after, Isidore of Seville wrote, that all churches made use of it. In the sixteenth century, the VULGATE was declared *authentic*, by the popish council of Trent; and continues to be the only publicly authorised version of the Roman catholic church. Most of the first European translations were made from it.

Jerom was a rapid and voluminous writer. The translation of Tobit was finished in one day; and the three books of Solomon he calls "the work of three days." And besides his revisions and translation of the Scriptures, he was the author of *Commentaries on the Prophets, Ecclesiastes, Matthew*, and the *Epistles of Paul to the Galatians* and *Ephesians, Titus* and *Philemon*; of a *History of Ecclesiastical Writers*; of various treatises on different subjects; and of a number of elegant and useful Epistles.[34] The *editio princeps*, or first printed edition of his works, was edited by Erasmus, and printed by Frobenius, at Basle, in 5 vols. folio, 1516. The edition of D. Vallarsius, printed at Verona in 11 vols. 1734–42, is usually accounted the best. The genuine version of Jerom, from a beautiful manuscript at Paris, was published in 1693, by D. Martianay and D. Pouget, and forms the first volume of the Benedictine edition of his works, in 5 vols. folio.[35]

(34) On the Revisions and Translations &c. of Jerom, the author has principally consulted
Hody, De Bibl. Text. Orig. pt. ii. cap. ii. iii. iv.
Fabricy, Titres Primitifs, I. pp. 233—237; & II. pp. 92—124.
Calmet, Dissertation sur la Vulgate.
Marsh's Lectures, Lect. 4.

(35) Bibliog. Dict. IV.

CHAPTER III.

FIFTH CENTURY.

Armenian Version. Mesrobe. Nonnus. Eudoxia. Theodosius. Lectionaria. Chrysography and Illuminated MSS. Ornamented Hebrew MSS. Talmuds. Karaites. Irish Letters. St. Patrick. Irish Version.

THE translation of the Scriptures into the ARMENIAN tongue, was executed nearly at the same period as the Latin version of Jerom, and illustriously distinguished the commencement of the *Fifth Century*. For this inestimable work, which La Croze calls "the Queen of Versions," the Armenian church is indebted to *Mesrobe*, or *Miesrob*, minister of state, and secretary to Waras-dates, and Arsaces IV. kings of Armenia. By some, indeed, it has been supposed, that Chrysostom translated the whole, or part of the Scriptures into Armenian; but the evidence is doubtful, and no remains of such translation now exist. The version of Mesrobe has continued in use among the Armenians ever since it was first made, and many illustrious instances of enlightened piety occur in their history.

In the seventeenth century, manuscript copies of the Bible were become so scarce in Armenia, that a single copy cost 1200 livres, or £50. Such being the rarity of copies of the Scriptures, a council of Armenian bishops, assembled in 1662, resolved to call in the art of printing, of which they had heard in Europe. For this purpose, they applied first to France; but the Roman catholic church having refused their request, USCAN,* minister of

* USCAN, or OSGAN, the celebrated editor of the Armenian Bible, was a minister of the Gospel at Erivan, the capital of Persian Armenia. From

Erivan, the seat of the Armenian patriarch, printed the Bible at Amsterdam, in 1666, in 4to. and an edition of the New Testament, in 1668, in 8vo. which was reprinted, in 1698, in a still smaller form. A second edition of this Bible was published at Constantinople in 1705, 4to. and a third at Venice, in 1733, corrected by *Mchitar*, a monk of the monastery of St. Lazarus, which is esteemed by the Armenians to be the most correct. Editions of the PSALMS are said to have been published at Rome, 1565; Venice, 1642; Amsterdam, 1661, 1666, 1672, 1677; Marseilles, 1673; and Constantinople, *without date;* though Masch doubts whether the Amsterdam edition of 1677 ever appeared, as the Armenian press had been removed to Marseilles prior to that date. But notwithstanding these editions, the Armenian Scriptures had

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the Armenian pronunciation of his name, he has sometimes been erroneously designated *bishop of Yuschuavanch;* from the place of his residence, *bishop of Erivan;* and from being confounded with Garabéid Wartabied, the editor of the Armenian Psalms, in 1666, *Uscan Wartabied.* He was sent to Europe about the year 1662, by Agopus (Jacobus) Caractri, patriarch of the Armenians, for the purpose of having an edition of the Armenian Scriptures printed under his inspection. According to the commission of the patriarch, he went to Rome, where he remained fifteen months, and then removed to Amsterdam, where he established an Armenian press, and printed the *Bible*, and other works in that tongue. His chief assistant was SOLOMON DE LEON, a deacon, his nephew, who afterwards married a young lady at Marseilles; his printers' names were *Etzmiatzneus*, and *Sergius*. In 1669, Uscan obtained permission from the king of France, to establish an Armenian printing-office at Marseilles, under the restriction of printing nothing contrary to the catholic faith. The court of Rome immediately adopted every precaution to prevent any errors being inserted in the publications printed by the Armenians of Marseilles. A written confession of faith was demanded from Uscan, and an Armenian priest, named *John Agolp*, sent to watch the press. Whilst Uscan, who was a man of great prudence, lived, the printing establishment was conducted peaceably; but after his death, which appears to have been before A. D. 1677, several law-suits were commenced. These being terminated, *Solomon de Leon* continued the establishment, but not without considerable uneasiness, occasioned by *Thomas Herabied*, an Armenian priest, who had been appointed inspector of the press, in the place of *John Agolp*. The printing establishment was finally transferred to Constantinople. See Simon, Letters Choisies, II. Let. 22, 23. pp. 137—166. Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. I. sec. 9. pp. 175, 176. 179. Clement, Bibliotheque Curieuse, III. p. 428.

become so scarce by the close of the eighteenth century, that Dr. Buchanan informs us, (Christian Researches, p. 245,) that in Persia they bore no proportion to the Armenian population, and that in India, a copy was scarcely to be purchased at any price; and in 1813, the committee of the Russian Bible Society report, that copies of both the editions of the Armenian Bible were become so scarce, that "they were hardly to be found any where," and that in consequence of this scarcity of the Scriptures, they had undertaken and completed an edition of 5000 copies of the *New Testament*, at the Armenian printing-office of St. Petersburg, kept by the learned and reverend archdeacon of the Armenian church, *Joseph Joannis*, every sheet of which had been examined by Joannis, the Armenian archbishop at Astrakan, to whom the sheets had been sent as they came out of the press.[1]

Dr. Buchanan, in 1811, remarks respecting the Armenians, that "they are to be found in every principal city of Asia, are the general merchants of the East, and are in a state of constant motion from Canton to Constantinople. Their general character is that of wealthy, industrious, and enterprising people. They are settled in all the principal places of India, where they arrived many centuries before the English. Wherever they colonize, they build churches, and observe the solemnities of the Christian religion in a decorous manner. Their Ecclesiastical establishment in Hindostan is more respectable than that of the English. They have *three* churches in the three capitals, one at Calcutta, one at Madras, and one at Bombay; but they have also churches in the interior of the country. The bishop sometimes visits Calcutta; but he is not resident there. The proper country of these Christians is Armenia, the greater part of which is subject to the Persian govern-

(1) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. sec. 18. and pt. ii. pp. 615, 616.
Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, I. p. 173.
Twelfth Report of the B. and F. Bible Society, p. 106.
Le Long, edit. Masch, pt. ii. I. sec. 9. pp. 173—181.

ment; but they are scattered all over the empire, the commerce of Persia being chiefly conducted by Armenians. Their patriarch resides at *Erivan*, not far from mount *Ararat*. They retain their ancient Scripture doctrines and worship, to this day."[2]—When the British envoy, Sir Harford Jones, was sent to the court of Persia, in 1808 and 1809, he was met about four miles from Ispahan, by an advanced part of the inhabitants. "First came the merchants of the city, in number about 300, all in their separate classes. Then followed a deputation from the *Armenian Clergy*, composed of the bishop and chief dignitaries, in their sacerdotal robes. They carried silken banners, on which was painted the Passion of our Saviour. The bishop, a reverend old man with a white beard, presented the EVANGELISTS, bound in crimson velvet, to the envoy, and proceeded on with his attendant priests, chanting their church service."[3]

MESROBE, or MIESROB, the author of the *Armenian version*, was a native of Hasecas, in the province of Taron. His father, whose name was Vardan, caused him to be educated in the sciences and literature of the Greeks. Early in life he was appointed Secretary to the king, and notwithstanding the unsettled and ruinous situation of the national affairs, executed his official duties with extraordinary ability and prudence. But being fond of retirement, and desirous of devoting himself entirely to the practice of religious duties, he retired from office, and withdrew into another province. The vigorous mind of Mesrobe was not, however, to be satisfied with mere monastic exercises; instead therefore of confining himself to the cell, or the desert, he successfully attempted the conversion of various idolatrous sects then subsisting in Armenia, and the adjacent countries. In this arduous and pious undertaking, a chief difficulty was the want of Armenian characters to

(2) Christian Researches, pp. 242, 243.
(3) Morier's Journey through Persia, &c. p. 161. Lond. 1812, 4to.

express his ideas in writing, and afford the people the advantage of written instruction; the Armenians having at that time no letters peculiar to their own language, but making use either of the Persian, or Syrian, or Greek. To remove this obstacle to the progress of the Gospel, as well as to render an essential service to the state, by enabling the secretaries to transact their business without having recourse, as formerly, to the Persian letters, he employed himself assiduously to the invention of characters suited to the pronunciation and genius of his native tongue. In this project he was sanctioned by the sovereign and the bishops; and in particular by ISAAC, the great patriarch of Armenia. To accomplish his design, he applied to most of the learned men of his day, and among others to a Syrian bishop, called DANIEL, who professed to have already formed a set of characters suited to the Armenian tongue; but which, on examination proved to be radically defective. Disappointed in his expectations of assistance, he is said to have betaken himself to prayer, and in a vision to have seen a hand describing on a stone certain figures, by the recollection of which, he with RUPHAN, an anchoret, who was eminently skilled in the Greek, completed the formation of the Armenian alphabet.*

Suitable characters being invented, Mesrobe applied himself to the translation of the Sacred Scriptures, commencing with the book of Proverbs. This translation, Isaac, the patriarch of Armenia, and he, made from the Syriac; Meruzen, a Persian general, and an enemy to the Christians, having ordered all the books written in Greek, to be destroyed, that no other letters might be used than the Persian; and the Persian governors not permitting even the Greeks, who lived in their part of Armenia, to use any other language than the Syriac. Having completed his version of the Scriptures, Mesrobe travelled into various provinces, and penetrating into Iberia and Albania

* For the Armenian alphabet, see plate I.

was singularly successful in establishing schools for the instruction of youth, and by the transcriptions furnished by his disciples and scholars, extensively diffusing the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.

Isaac and Mesrobe engaged a second time in a translation of the Scriptures from the Syriac, in order to render the Armenian version still more perfect. But having afterwards received from the council of Ephesus, a correct copy of the *Greek Bible*, they cheerfully submitted to the task of again translating, what they had translated twice before. In this last version they were assisted by Moses of Chorene, the celebrated historian, whom they sent with others to the famous school of Alexandria, to obtain more perfect knowledge of the Greek, that nothing might be wanting to the perfection of their translation. Such being the care bestowed by these Armenians, it is no wonder that they succeeded in their endeavours, and produced a version superior to most others.

After a life spent in unwearied exertions to promote the diffusion of the gospel, and the circulation of the Scriptures, Mesrobe died a few months after his friend the great Isaac, in the city of Valarsapatam, in the first year of the reign of Isdegird king of Persia; and was honourably buried at Asacan. *Moses of Chorene*, his disciple and coadjutor, describes him as being "handsome in person, and elegant in manners; at once free from haughtiness and meanness; mild and benevolent in disposition; sound in judgment, and eloquent in speech; cautious and prudent, yet firm and persevering in duty; indefatigable in teaching; skilled in reproving; patient, faithful, and sincere in all his conduct."(4)

Theodoret, a Syrian bishop, who lived at the beginning of the fifth century, speaks of the existence of other translations besides those we have noticed, but we have no fragments of them remaining, nor any account of the transla-

(4) Moses Chorenensis Hist. Armen. Lib. iii. cap. xlvii. lii. liii. liv. lx. lxvii. et Pref. Lond. 1736, 4to.

tors. His words are, "The HEBREW BOOKS are not only translated into the language of the *Grecians*, but also of the *Romans*, the *Indians*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, *Scythians*, *Sarmatians*, *Egyptians*, and in a word, into all the languages that are used by any nation."[5]

But notwithstanding our ignorance of some of those translations of which Theodoret speaks, several important facts induce us to believe, that, during this century, considerable attention was paid to the Sacred Writings. NONNUS, a native of Panapolis, in Egypt, who lived about A.D. 410, was the author of a *Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel*, in Greek hexameter verse; a work from whence various readings have been carefully selected by *Mill*, *Bengel*, *Wetstein*, and *Griesbach*. It has been frequently printed. The best edition is by D. Heinsius, with a Latin translation, in octavo, printed at Leyden, 1627.

The Empress EUDOXIA, or EUDOCIA, may also be ranked among the Biblical scholars of this age. She was the daughter of Leontius, a Gentile philosopher, and received a learned education. Being engaged in a law-suit with her brothers, respecting a share in the patrimonial estate, she carried her cause personally by appeal to Constantinople, where she obtained the friendship of Pulcheria, sister to Theodosius II. Embracing Christianity, she was baptized by the name of *Eudoxia*, or *Eudocia*, her former name being *Athenais*; and was soon afterwards married to the emperor. Their union lasted a considerable time, but the machinations of Chrysapius, creating jealousy in the emperor, Eudoxia retired to Jerusalem, where she spent many years in erecting and adorning churches, and relieving the poor. Cave assures us, she was afterwards reconciled to the emperor, returned to Constantinople, and continued with him till his death; after which she revisited Palestine, and spent the remainder of her days in works

(5) Sixt. Senens. Lib. iv.
Usserii Hist. Dogmat. de Script. Vernacul. p. 53.

of piety. On her death-bed she took a solemn oath, that the suspicions of Theodosius respecting her chastity, were utterly groundless. She died A. D. 459.

She wrote a poetical Paraphrase of the OCTATEUCH, or first eight books of the Bible; and another Paraphrase, in prose, of the Prophecies of DANIEL and ZECHARIAH. Photius says, she adhered so sacredly to the original text in these paraphrases, neither adding nor changing any thing, that they might justly be accounted legitimate versions of the Sacred Books. She also wrote the *Histories of St. Cyprian*, and of *Justina*, in heroic verse, beside a *Life of Christ*, and other poetical works.

The Emperor THEODOSIUS himself, a prince of retired and literary habits, devoted much of his time to the transcription and adorning of the Sacred Books; and was so fair and elegant a writer, that he obtained the name of *Calligraphes*, or "the fair writer." In particular, he is said to have written a copy of the GOSPELS, with his own hand, in *letters of gold*, and to have devoted his days and nights to the study of the Scriptures.[6] Where the sovereigns themselves set so pious an example, the people were sure to imitate them. The CODEX BEZÆ, or Codex Cantabrigiensis, which is supposed to have been written during this century,[7] may possibly, therefore, have been written in the reign of Theodosius. The selection and appointment of PROPER LESSONS to be read in the churches on all holy-days, whether saints' days or others, is also referred to this century. The Scriptures had indeed been read publicly from the earliest ages of Christianity, but selections for general devotion date their commencement only from about the year 450, for in that year, Claudianus Mamercus composed a *Kalendar*, or

(6) Gibbon's D. and F. of the Roman Empire, V. p. 420. 8vo. Blanchini Evangel. Quadrup. II. pt. ii. fol. DXCII. Rom. fol. Cavei Hist. Lit. Sæc. V. p. 312.

(7) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. ii. p. 720.

Lectionarium for the church of Vienna; and Musœus, a priest of Massilia, (now Marseilles,) applied himself to compose one for that church in 480, at the request of Bishop Venerius. Both these are now lost, and the oldest extant is the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon, from a manuscript which he supposed to be above 1000 years old.[8] About the same time, *Scripture histories* began to be painted upon the walls of the churches, which Paulinus, bishop of Nola, who first commenced the practice in the church of St. Felix, called "the books of the ignorant."[9] At this period none were permitted to sit in the time of divine service, especially during the reading of the Scriptures, but those who were unable to stand on account of old age or infirmity: and so sacred were the Scriptures accounted, that even private Christians washed their hands before they read the Bible; and in the Eastern churches, lights were carried before the Gospels when they were going to be read. Asterius, bishop of Amasia, in Natolia, about the commencement of this century, in his homily on *Dives and Lazarus*, describes the Grecians as wearing garments with various figures upon them, so that walking in public, they seemed like painted walls; "You see there lions, panthers, bears, bulls, dogs, woods, rocks, and hunters." Others of the more devout had *Scripture histories woven in them:* "You may there also see, the marriage of Galilee, and the water-pots; the paralytic man carrying his bed upon his shoulders; the blind man cured by being anointed with clay; the woman with the bloody flux, touching the hem of Christ's garment; the woman who was a sinner, falling at the feet of Jesus; Lazarus returning from the sepulchre to life; Christ and all his disciples; and all the miracles he

(8) Bingham's Antiquities, &c. VI. p. 416.
Wheatley's Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer, ch. iii. p. 141. fol.
(9) Butler's Lives of the Saints, VI. p. 310.

wrought."[10] Superstitious, however, as some of the preceding practices may appear, they sufficiently evince the profound reverence which the Christians entertained for the Sacred Writings; and the high estimation in which copies of them would be held by those who could procure them.

Similar esteem for the Inspired Volumes produced those magnificent specimens of CHRYSOGRAPHY and of ILLUMINATION, or ornamental decorations of Biblical manuscripts, which, though found in writings of later ages, were most frequent in the fourth and fifth centuries. Jerom, who lived in the fourth century, mentions that there were in his time, books written on parchment of a purple colour, in letters of gold and silver; and that whole books were written in large characters, such as are commonly used at the beginning of sentences, and called *uncial*, initial, or capital letters.[11] In the Imperial Library at Vienna, there is a famous MS. fragment of the book of Genesis, and of the Gospel of St. Luke, generally allowed to be at least 1400 years old. It is written upon *purple* vellum, in letters of gold and silver, and consists of twenty-six leaves, adorned with forty-eight pictures in water colours. Dr. Holmes published a copy of this manuscript in 1795; and the pictures are engraven in vol. III. of the catalogue of Lambecius, printed at Vienna, in 1670.[12] There is also a small fragment of a MS. of the New Testament, in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, written on papyrus, (charta Ægyptiaca) or on paper of a *purple* colour; and Wetstein assures us, that he himself had seen two Psalters, the one Greek, preserved in the library of Zurich, the other Latin, kept in the monastery of St. Germain, at Paris, both written upon *purple*, or red

(10) Bingham's Antiquities, VI. p. 427.
Wheatley's Illustration, ch. iii. p. 144.
F. Combefis, Græco-Lat. Patrum Novum Auctarium, I. p. 2, 3.
Parjs, 1648, fol.

(11) Hieronymi Opera, in Lib. Job. præfat. IV. fol. 10. Basil. 1506.

(12) Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, ch. v. p. 71.

parchment, or paper.[13]

In the history of the emperors of Constantinople, mention is made of CHRYSOGRAPHI, or writers in letters of gold, an employment which appears to have been deemed honourable. Simeon Logotheta says of the Emperor Artemius, that before he came to the empire, he was a CHRYSOGRAPHUS, or writer in letters of gold; gold letters being very early used in titles and capitals of books, and sometimes whole books being written in letters of gold.[14] D'Herbelot observes, that several of the works of the most excellent Arab poets, who flourished before the times of Mohammedanism, were called *Al Moallacat*, i. e. suspended, because they were successively affixed, by way of honour, to the *Cauba*, or gate of the temple of Mecca; and also *Al Modhahebat*, which signifies *gilded*, because they were written in letters of gold, upon Egyptian paper:[15] and Harmer conjectures that the 16th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, and 70th Psalms are distinguished by the epithet MICHTAM or GOLDEN, on account of their having been, on some occasion or other, written in letters of gold, and hung up in the sanctuary, or elsewhere.[16] Among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, is a noble exemplar of the FOUR GOSPELS, in capital letters of gold, written in the eighth century: every page of the Sacred Text, consisting of two separate columns, is enclosed within a broad and beautifully illuminated border: the pictures of the Evangelists, with their symbolic animals, are curiously painted in the front of their respective Gospels; the initial letter of each Gospel is richly illuminated, and so large as to fill an entire page: to the whole are prefixed the prologues, arguments, and breviaries; two letters of Jerom to Damasus; the canons of Eusebius; his letters to Carpian; and a capi-

(13) Wetsteinii Proleg. cap. i. p. 1. & cap. ii. p. 16. Amstel. 1730, 4to. Du Cange, Glossar. v. "Membraneum Purpureum."
(14) Montfaucon's Antiquity explained, III. ch. iv. p. 220. fol.
(15) D' Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 591. Maestricht. fol.
(16) Clarke's Harmer's Observations, III. p. 150.

tular of the Gospels for the course of the year; all of them written in small golden characters.[17] In 670, the famous Wilfrid, among other donations for decorating the church of Rippon, ordered a copy of THE FOUR GOSPELS to be written for it, in letters of the purest gold, upon leaves of parchment, *purpled* in the ground, and coloured variously upon the surface: but that such copies were extremely rare, especially in England, is evident from Bede speaking of it as a kind of prodigy, unheard of before in those days.[18]

The reason for thus preparing the skins of vellum or parchment, and staining them *purple*, was to render the appearance of the gold and silver letters more brilliant and splendid. Casiri, (*Biblioth. Arabico-Hispana*, p. 9.) says, that he had seen many instances, in which the lustre of the parchment, whether stained *red* or *black* was such, that it reflected objects like a mirror. But this expensive and magnificent mode of writing was appropriated chiefly to those copies designed for princes or nobles; hence Theonas, (T. xii. Spicil, p. 549,) admonishes Lucian, the grand-chamberlain, not to permit copies to be written upon *purple* vellum, in *gold* or *silver* letters, unless specially required by the prince. It was also principally confined to the transcription of the Sacred Books, which were thus executed to induce the greater reverence for them. Boniface, bishop of Mentz, the apostle of Germany, in the eighth century, gives this intimation in his epistle to the Abbess Eadburga: "I intreat you," says he, "to send me *the Epistles of the Apostle St. Peter*, written in *letters of gold*, that by exhibiting them, in preaching, to the eyes of the carnal, I may procure the greater honour and reverence for the Holy Scriptures." Such was the book of the GOSPELS, written in letters of gold, which Lewis the Pious gave to the monastery of St. Me-

(17) Selection of curious articles from Gent. Mag. II. p. 19.
(18) Whitaker's Cathedral of Cornwall, I. p. 111. Lond. 1804, 4to.

dard, at Soissons, and now in the Royal Library of France. Of the same kind is the book of the GOSPELS belonging to the church of the Blessed Mary, at Rheims. To which may be added, the legacies of Count Everard, who bequeathed to his son Berengarius, a PSALTER, *written with gold;* and to Adelard, a LECTIONARY *of the Epistles and Gospels, written also with gold.* Princes sometimes caused their usual *books of Prayer*, to be written in this manner; such for instance is the beautiful one written in letters of gold, upon purple vellum, bound in ivory, and studded with gems, preserved in the celebrated Colbertine Library, formerly belonging to Charles the Bald; and another very similar work, belonging to the same prince, written on vellum, and executed in letters of gold, formerly preserved in the Parthenon of Zurich, but now in the Imperial Library. This latter work was edited at Ingolstadt, in 1585, by Felix, bishop of Scala, who observes, that there is also a *book of the Gospels*, of the age of Charles the Bald, written in letters of gold, preserved in the church of St. Emmeran, at Ratisbon.[19]

That the practice of writing with *solutions of gold and silver* is a most ancient one, is proved by various other instances, besides those already adduced. The copy of the Sacred Books sent to Ptolemy by the high-priest Eleazar, and presented to him by the Seventy-two Interpreters, was written upon the finest vellum in letters of gold; and Matthew Paris, in his "History of the Abbey of St. Albans," relates, that during the abbacy of Eadmer, the ninth abbot, a number of workmen being employed to erect a church on the scite of the ancient city Verolamium, as they were digging the foundation, they discovered the remains of an ancient palace, and found in a hollow part of one of the walls, several small books and rolls,

(19) Blanchini, Evangel. Quadrup. II. pt. ii. fol. DXCII. See also Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, I. p. xxxi. Lond. 1817, 8vo.

one of which, written in a language not understood, was most beautifully ornamented with the title and inscriptions in *letters of gold.* It was covered with oaken boards, and tied with silken bands, and in a great measure retained its pristine strength and beauty, uninjured either in its form or writing by the length of time it had lain undiscovered. M. Paris adds, that after much inquiry, they found a learned man, but decrepit with age, whose name was Unwoman, who understood and read distinctly the writing both of that and of all the other books, and from whom they learned, that they were written in the language of the ancient Britons, at the time they inhabited *Warlamcestre.* They also found the life of St. Alban, written in Latin.[20]

Diplomatic Instruments were likewise sometimes executed in letters of gold. "Among these," says Mabillon, "I find a charter of Aripert, king of the Lombards, confirming the gift of the patrimonial estate of Alpius Cottiarus, ordered to be written in letters of gold." This is related by Paul Warnefrid, in his history of the Lombards. Another charter executed in a similar manner, in the reign of Edgar, is mentioned by the author of the *Monasticon* Anglicanum, (Tom. i. p. 211.) Puricellus, in his work on the antiquity of the church of St. Ambrose, at Milan, assures us, that the originals of the charters of the kings Hugo and Lotharius were written in golden letters; and that these, as well as other charters of different kings and emperors, executed in *characters of gold, upon the skins of fishes;* are still extant amongst the archives of the church.[21]

The art of writing in letters of gold, was called CHRYSOGRAPHIA. In the royal library at Paris, there is a Greek work, (formerly No. 618,) written in the low and vulgar style of the latter ages, bearing the title Περὶ

(20) Blanchini, Evangel. Quadrup. *ubi sup.*
(21) Mabillon, De re Diplomatica, Lib. i.—viii. p. 44. Peignot, Essai sur Parchemin, p. 77—83.

χρυσογραμμίας, in which the art of preparing the golden liquid for writing is explained. Lambecius, and Montfaucon, notice other works upon the same subject; and Peignot, in his *Essai sur l'histoire du parchemin et du velin*, gives several different processes for liquefying gold, &c.[22] It has even been conjectured, that the celebrated Argonautic expedition was undertaken to obtain a work written on skins, containing a treatise on the *Art of writing in gold letters*.[23]

The *Purple* colour most esteemed by the ancients, and considered as of the highest value, was of a dark cast, as deep as bull's blood, and had a strong smell; it was restrained to the "person and palace of the emperor; and the penalties of treason were denounced against the ambitious subjects who dared to usurp the prerogative of the throne. But there were also other colours denominated *Purple*, one of them approaching our scarlet, another nearly violet; there was even a white colour which bore the name of purple.[24] Anastasius (in Versione Concilii vi. Actione x.) calls the purple, "Saffron colour, or yellow." "The term *Purple*," says Laurentius a Turre, "is not confined to those *Codices* or copies, which are of a scarlet, or red colour, but is also used to denote a violet colour, of which I have seen a very large number; such, for instance, are two preserved in the library of St. Germain; one of them a Latin Psalter; the other the Gospel of St. Matthew. The latter is written from the beginning to the end in most beautiful characters of gold. I have also seen another of the same sort, in the Royal Library at Naples, (S. Joannis de Carbonaria,) and many others, the first pages of which were of a purple or violet colour."[25]

(22) Blanchini, *ubi sup.*

(23) Suidæ Lex. v. Δερας. edit. Kuster.
Chandler's Defence of the Prime Ministry of Joseph, p. 448.

(24) Gibbon's D. and F. of the Roman Empire, VII. ch. xl. p. 90. 8vo; Goguet, Origine des Loix, et des Arts, pt. ii. liv. ii. ch. ii. pp. 196—198.

(25) Blanchini, *ubi sup.*

Since the invention of printing, this mode of writing has been imitated, by printing upon *paper of different colours.* At the sale of M. Renouard, in 1804, an Hebrew Bible, without points, printed by Plantin, at Antwerp, in 8vo. upon *yellow* paper, sold for 19 livres: a Latin Bible also was printed at Nuremberg, in 1629, on *yellow* paper. Count Mc. Carthy lately possessed a Greek New Testament, in 16mo. printed in 1587, upon *lemon-coloured* paper; and an Armenian New Testament, in 2 vols. 12mo. printed upon *blue* paper.[26] Some works have also been printed in *golden* letters, by M. Crapelet; and proposals have been issued for an edition of Magna Charta, (from the original MS. deposited in the British Museum,) to be executed in *burnished gold* letters, on royal purple satin, and on superfine vellum paper, by the inventor, Mr. John Whitaker.[27]

It was not only by the *Chrysographic* mode of writing, that the ancient Christians ornamented their manuscript copies of the Scriptures, they also frequently embellished them, at an immense expense, with *miniatures,* and other paintings; collectively termed ILLUMINATIONS. In the Harleian Library, there is deposited a MS. of the four Gospels of St. Jerom's version, together with his prologues, &c. the canons of Eusebius, and the parallel passages, written in letters of gold, in the tenth century. This manuscript is superbly illuminated, and adorned with pictures of the following subjects, painted upon purple grounds, viz. before the Gospel of St. Matthew, in a circle are, first, the representation of our Saviour, sitting as enthroned, holding in his right hand the book of the New Law, that of the Old Law lying in his lap, with the four Evangelists in the angles, kneeling; secondly, our Saviour standing, with St. John resting his head on

(26) Peignot, Repertoire de Bibliographies speciales. 8vo. 1810, pp. 156, 175. 178.

(27) Horne's Introduction to Bibliography, I. p. 225.

his bosom; thirdly, the portrait of St. Matthew; and fourthly, the salutation of the Virgin. Before St. Mark's Gospel are the portrait of that Evangelist, and the salutation of the Virgin Mary. At the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel are his portrait, and the crucifixion of our Saviour; and before the Gospel of St. John, are the picture of that Evangelist, and the Ascension of our Lord.[28] In the same rich collection, as well as in the other principal libraries in Europe, are many other beautifully executed and superbly illuminated MSS. of the Gospels, Psalms, and other parts of the Sacred Writings, forming altogether an invaluable treasure. In Blanchini's *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, p. 2. vol. II. fol. DXCIII. is a list of the principal illuminated MSS. of the Scriptures, preserved in the different European libraries.

The practice of thus illuminating manuscripts with paintings, is of the most remote date. In an ancient Egyptian MS. on papyrus, taken from a mummy at Thebes, and brought into England by William Hamilton, Esq. and presented by him to the British Museum, the writing, which is from right to left, is divided into five columns, the first of which is imperfect; *each column is accompanied by a drawing*, which represents one or more objects of Egyptian adoration.[29] The time and patience which were required to execute the illuminations of some manuscripts is truly astonishing. Fifty years were sometimes employed to complete a single volume; an evidence of which occurred at the sale of the late Sir W. Burrell's books, in 1796. Among these was a MS. Bible, beautifully written on vellum, and illuminated, which had taken the writer, GUIDO DE JARS, half a century to execute. He began it in his fortieth year and did not finish it until he had accomplished his ninetieth, in the year 1294, in the reign of Philip the Fair, as

(28) Selection of curious articles from Gent. Mag. II. p. 29.
(29) Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature, I. pp. 54, 55.

appeared by the writer's own autograph at the front of the book.[30] The art of illuminating manuscripts was much practised by the clergy, and even by some in the highest stations of the church, especially during the middle ages. Writers or transcribers of books, first finished their part, and the illuminators then embellished them; and in the infancy of the art of printing, the first letter of a book or chapter was frequently left blank, for the purpose of being illuminated at the option of the purchaser.

Gerhard Tychsen, professor of philosophy and Oriental literature, at Rostock, has attempted to furnish a rule, by which to distinguish the Hebrew MSS. written and illuminated by Christians, from those executed by Jews. He observes, that all MSS. of the Masorah, or Jewish criticisms, with figures of dragons, sphinxes, bears, hogs, or any other of the unclean animals; all MSS. of the Old Testament, with the Vulgate translation, or corrected to it, or to the Septuagint version; all MSS. not written with black ink, or in which there are words written in golden letters, or where the words, or the margin are illuminated; and all MSS. where the word ADONAI is written instead of the word JEHOVAH; were written by Christians, and not by Jews.[31] Professor Michaelis, however, warmly controverts the former part of these observations, and affirms, "The Jewish MSS. of the Bible are often ornamented with figures of animals, plants, trees, sphinxes, &c. from which none but a *Tychsen* will ever infer, that these MSS. were made not by Jews, but by monks. (See *Joseph. Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 4—*Antiq.* xv. 11. 3.) *He*, however, is the first man upon the face of the earth, who has entertained such an opinion; for before he told them, mankind did not know, that the monks of the

(30) Lemoine's Typographical Antiquities, p. 1.

(31) Tentamen de variis Codicum Hebræorum Veteris Testamenti MSS. Rostock, 1772. cited in Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, I. p. 44.

Specimens of Ornamental Hebrew &c. &c.

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middle ages were such eminent Hebræans; and the Jews recognise those copies of the Hebrew Scriptures that are thus bedaubed with figures, as of Jewish workmanship."[32] In another part of the same work he says, "On the triumphal arch of Titus Vespasian, we have yet extant, a representation of the sacred candlestick, as carried in his triumph; (see Reland, *De Spoliis templi Hierosolymitani in Arcu Titiano Romæ conspicuis*, p. 6, where is given a plate, as well as a description,) the foot of which is formed of sphinxes. In still later times, we find some MSS. of the Bible, of which the large initial capital letters are ornamented with figures of sphinxes and lions. (See an instance on the plate at p. 604 of *Blanchini Evangeliarium Quadruplex.* p. ii. t. ii.)"[33]* Some beautiful specimens of ornamental Hebrew *printing* may be seen in Dibdin's *Bibliographical Decameron*, vol. II. pp. 317, 318.

The substitution of ADONAI for JEHOVAH, in the Hebrew manuscripts, has arisen out of the superstitious reverence of the Jews for the TETRAGRAMMATON, or *word of four letters*, as it is frequently termed, from being formed of the four consonants J. H. V. H. The name JEHOVAH imports necessary, or self-existence, and is expressive of the incommunicable nature of the Divine Being: on this very account it is forbidden to be read by the Jews, who instead of it read ADONAI, or *Lord*, a term denoting authority or dominion. The *Septuagint* also has employed the word *Kyrios*, of similar import with *Adonai*, probably from the superstitious opinion of the Jews; and the writers of the New Testament, who wrote in Greek, have so far conformed to the usage of their countrymen, that they have never introduced this name into their writings. The generality of Christian translators

(32) Michaelis's Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, translated by Alex. Smith, D. D. IV. p. 54.

(33) Michaelis, *ut sup.* III. p. 225.

* These specimens are engraved in plate 3, of the present work.

have in this imitated their practice. Our own, in particular, have only in four places of the Old Testament used the name JEHOVAH; in all other places, which are almost innumerable, they render it THE LORD. But, for distinction's sake, when this word corresponds to JEHOVAH, it is printed in capitals.[34] Still we cannot but regret that any other word has been substituted, since many passages are thereby obscured to the common reader, which would otherwise have clearly identified the person of the Redeemer with the INCOMMUNICABLE NAME, and shewn more clearly the GODHEAD of the ever adorable Saviour.

Origen, Jerom, and Eusebius mention, that in their day the Jews wrote the name JEHOVAH, in their copies of the Scriptures, in the ancient Samaritan characters, and not in the Chaldee or common Hebrew letters, in order to conceal it more fully from other nations.[35] It was also in the ancient Hebrew or Samaritan letters that the ineffable name was embossed on the gold plate of the high priest's Mitre. The modern Jews either use the word *Adonai*, or express the name by circumlocution, as *The name of Four Letters, The ineffable Name, &c.* or else make use of symbols, as two *Yods*, (or J's) or three *Yods* in a circle, and sometimes three *Radii* or *Points*.[36] They assure us, that after the Babylonish captivity, it was never pronounced but by the high-priest, and by him only once a year, on the great day of expiation, and then so as not to be heard by the people; and that after the destruction of Jerusalem it was never pronounced, so that the true pronunciation of it is now lost, and cannot be recovered till their restoration to the holy city, when it will be taught them by the MESSIAH. They do not even scruple to affirm, that he who should know how rightly to pronounce the word, would be able to work the most stupendous miracles;

(34) Campbell's Translation of the Four Gospels, Prelim. Dissert. 7
(35) Calmet, Dict. de la Bible, "Jehovah."
(36) Maurice's Indian Antiquities, I. p. 127; and IV. p. 581.

that it was by pronouncing this name that Moses slew the Egyptian; and by its being written upon his rod that he was enabled to perform his wonders before Pharaoh. And some of them, in the heat of opposition to Christianity, have ventured to declare, that JESUS stole this name out of the temple; secreted it; and by it wrought his miracles.[37] So great is the blindness which hath happened unto Israel!

The chief part of the doctrines and opinions of the Jews is to be found in those voluminous compilations, THE TALMUDS. There are two *Talmuds*, one called *The Jerusalem Talmud*, the other *The Babylonish Talmud*. The JERUSALEM TALMUD, compiled principally for the Jews of Palestine, was composed about A. D. 250. The principal, or BABYLONISH TALMUD, was begun by Rabbi Asseh, and completed by his successors, about A. D. 500. The Talmuds are divided into two parts, the *Mishna*, and the *Gemara*. The MISHNA is the *Oral Law*, which the Jews say GOD delivered to Moses on Sinai, as explanatory of the *Written Law*. These unwritten traditionary explanations were delivered, say they, by Moses to Joshua, by Joshua to the Elders, and so on to the year of Christ 150, or according to others 190; when Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh, or the Holy, collected all the traditions, and committed them to writing, that they might not be lost. These are the *Traditions* which our Saviour condemned as destructive of the Law of God; (Mark vii. 7—13.) The English reader, who is desirous to see a specimen of the vain and frivolous distinctions attributed to the Father of Lights, by the Talmudical writers, may indulge his curiosity by perusing the translation of two of the Misnic Titles, viz. *On the Sabbath*; and *Sabbatical Mixtures*; published by Dr. Wotton, in his "Miscellaneous Discourses,

(37) Maimonidis More Nevochim, pt. i. ch. lxi. lxii. p. 106. Basil, 1629, 4to.
Wagenseilii Tela Ignea in Lib. TOLDOS IESCHU, p. 6; Altdorf, 1681, 4to.
Kennicott's Dissert. on 1 Chronicles, ch. xi. &c. p. 321.

relating to the traditions and usages of the Scribes and Pharisees, &c." vol. II. The GEMARA, or *Completion*, as it is called, contains the commentaries and additions of succeeding Rabbins. "The *Mishna*," says a Jewish writer, "is the text, and the *Gemara* the comment; and both together, is what we call the Talmud;" a word signifying doctrine, or teaching.[38]

Surenhusius published the Mishna, with a Latin translation, in 6 vols. fol. at Amsterdam, in 1698.

So great is the estimation in which the TALMUD is held by the Jews, that the Rabbinical writers frequently prefer it to the SCRIPTURES! They compare "the Scriptures to water, the Mishna to wine, and the Talmud, or Gemara to aromatic spices." "The Oral Law," say they, "is the foundation of the Written Law;" and they exhort their disciples to "attend rather to the words of the Scribes, than to the words of the Law!" "The words of the Scribes," say they, "are lovely, above the words of the Law; for the words of the Law are weighty and light, but the words of the Scribes are all weighty." And again "The words of the Elders are weightier than the words of the Prophets."[39] But enough of such blasphemies!

Very differently were the Talmudical collections estimated by several Popes, who, too suspicious of their baneful tendency, and too violent in their measures, instituted processes by which immense numbers of Jewish writings were destroyed. In 1230, Gregory IX. condemned the Talmudical volumes, and ordered them to be burned. In 1244, Innocent IV. adopted the same measures. At a later period, when by the invention of printing, copies of the Talmud had been greatly multiplied, Julius III. by a new edict, ordered inquiry to be made

(38) Levi's Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews, p. 301.
Leusdeni Philologus Hebræo-Mixtus, Diss. 12, 13, 14, 15.
(39) Lightfoot's Horæ Heb. and *Talmud*, *Works*, II p. 199.

after them; and all the copies that could be met with in all the cities of Italy, to be seized and burned, whilst the Jews were celebrating the Feast of the Tabernacles, in September, A. D. 1553: and according to the calculation of the Romish Inquisition, 12,000 volumes of the Talmud were committed to the flames, by order of his successor, Paul IV.[40]

The JERUSALEM TALMUD was printed at Venice, by Dan. Bomberg, about the year 1523, in 1 vol. folio; and afterwards, with marginal notes, at Cracow, in 1609.

The BABYLONISH TALMUD has been printed several times; the principal editions are those of Bomberg, in 12 vols. folio, printed at Venice, in 1520; and of Bebenisti, in 4to. printed at Amsterdam, in 1644.

Beside the MISHNA, the Jews pretend to have received from the Divine Author of the Law, another, and more mystical interpretation of it. This mystical exposition they term CABBALA, a word signifying *Tradition*, or *Reception*, and designed to intimate that this mystical comment was *received* from GOD by Moses, who *transmitted* it orally to posterity. The *Mishna*, say they, explains the manner in which the rites and ceremonies of the Law are to be performed; but the *Cabbala* teaches the mysteries couched under those rites and ceremonies, and hidden in the words and letters of the Scriptures. They give as an instance the precepts relating to Phylacteries. The *Mishna* teaches the *materials* of which they are to be prepared, the *form* in which they are to be made, and the *manner* in which they are to be worn; but the *Cabbala* shows the mystical reasons of these directions, and informs them why the slips of parchment are to be inclosed in a *black* calf skin, in preference to any other colour; why the Phylacteries for the head are to be separated into four divisions; why the letters written upon them are to be of such a particular form, &c. &c. They divide

(40) Leusdeni Philolog. Hebræo-Mixt. Diss. 15. p. 105.

this mystical science into thirteen different species, and by various transpositions, abbreviations, permutations, combinations, and separations of words, and from the figures and numerical powers of letters, imagine the Law sufficient to instruct the *Cabbalistic* adept in every art and science.[41] Happy would it have been for the Christian church, had the Cabbalistic Doctors of the Jews been the only interpreters of Scripture, who had substituted their own fancies for the Word of God!

It is the excellent remark of one of the best Jewish writers, and deserves the attention of every expositor of the Sacred Writings: "That in explaining the Scriptures, and especially the Parables, the general scope and intention of the writer is to be regarded, and not every word and syllable of the Parable; else the expositor will lose his time in endeavouring to explain what is inexplicable, or make the author say many things he never intended."[42]

The principal interpretations and commentaries of the Cabbalists, are contained in the book ZOHAR, said to have been written by Rabbi Simeon Ben Jochai, who died about the year of Christ 120; but it is probably of a much later date. An edition of it was printed at Mantua, A. D. 1558, in 4to. and another at Cremona, in 1559, in folio.[43]

Dispersed by the destruction of Jerusalem, and the heavy calamities that followed, the Jews, at an early period of the Christian era, had been scattered through various countries, and associated with nations of languages widely different from their own. Obliged in their civil and commercial intercourse, to adopt the speech of the people among whom they dwelt, the Hebrew so far ceased to be their vernacular tongue, that the Hellenist, and other Jews, preferred the use of the Greek, and other versions,

(41) Menasseh Ben Israel, Conciliator, Quæst. in Exod. 50.
Waltoni Proleg. viii.
Basnage's History of the Jews, B. iii. ch. x.—xxvi. fol.
(42) Maimonidis More Nevochim in Præfat.
(43) Buxtorf, De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis, p. 199; & Bibl. Rab. p. 55.

even in their synagogue service. But in the reign of the Emperor Justinian, A. D. 552, there arose disputes upon the subject. Some contended that the Law ought to be read in a language understood by the people, many of whom were but imperfectly acquainted with the *Biblical Hebrew*. Others insisted that the language in which the Law was originally written was *sacred*, and maintained that the Holy Scriptures ought not to be read in any other. The decision was referred to the emperor, who ordered that the Scriptures should be read in the language of the country, whether *Hebrew*, or *Greek*, or *Latin*, or any other. In the use of *Greek* versions, he recommended the *Septuagint*, though he did not forbid the use of others. He also prohibited the use of the MISHNA, or *Second Edition*, as it was called, *because it did not belong to the body of the Scripture, nor had been delivered by the Prophets, but was merely the invention of men, who had nothing divine in them, and who spake only of the earth.* And lest the ARCHIPHERACITES, or men of authority amongst the Jews, should frustrate the design of this edict, he denounced corporal penalties, against those Priests or Rabbins who should, by anathemas, or other censures, endeavour to prevent the people from reading the Scriptures.[44]

This dispute respecting the language in which the Law should be read, in the synagogues, originated in the debates between the Christians and Jews. The Christians pressed the Jews with arguments in favour of Christianity, drawn from the Prophecies, respecting the MESSIAH; and the Rabbins dreading the result of such arguments, forbade the Scriptures to be read in any other language than the Hebrew. So true it is, that truth courts investigation and inquiry, and rejoices in the light; whilst error fears examination, and seeks for refuge in darkness! The edict of Justinian however was but transient in its influ-

(44) Gothofredi Corpus Juris Civilis, Novel. 146, II. p. 58.

ence; the Jews obstinately adhered to the practice of reading the Scriptures in *Hebrew*, in their synagogues; a practice which still continues to be universally adopted.[45]

It will be easily discovered, that the preceding account of the Jews, refers to the great body of them, who are denominated *Rabbinists*, and are thus distinguished from the *Karaites*, a small sect among them, who reject tradition, and contend for the sufficiency of Scripture. One of their own writers observes, "Truth is known by reason, which draws it from the Prophecies. An argument is known to be solid, when it agrees with the words of a Prophet; only, some articles are too profound for the understanding. However, they are received with respect, because they were dictated by a Prophet. Could man apprehend every thing, neither the Prophets, nor Prophecies had been necessary."[46]

The best account of the modern KARAITES, is that which is given by Dr. E. D. Clarke, in his "*Travels into various countries, &c.*" in 1800, *&c.* from which the following extract is made:

"The morning after our arrival," at *Baktcheserai*, the capital of the Crimea, "Colonel *Richard Durant*, a native of *Smyrna*, and an officer in the Russian service, residing in Baktcheserai, accompanied us on horseback, to climb the steep defile leading from the city to the *Jewish* colony of *Dschoufoutkalé*,* situate upon a mountain, and distant about five *versts*. These *Jews* are of the sect called KARAI: they inhabit an ancient fortress originally constructed by the Genoese, upon a very lofty precipice. Advancing along the defile, and always ascending, we passed above the remains of that quarter of the city, which belonged to the Greeks. We now came to the lower verge of some

(45) Basnage's History of the Jews, B. iii. ch. vi. p. 170, Lightfoot's Works, II. p. 798.

46) Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. ii. ch. viii. p. 106.

* *Dschoufout* is a name, originally, of reproach, bestowed upon the *Jews*: and *Kalé*, signifies a fortress.

steep cliffs, and beheld upon the summit, the walls of *Dschoufoutkalé*. In a recess upon our right hand, appeared the cemetery, or "*field of dead*," belonging to the *Karaite Jews*. Nothing can be imagined more calculated to inspire holy meditation. It is a beautiful grove, filling a chasm of the mountains, which is rendered gloomy by the shade of lofty trees, and overhanging rocks. A winding path conducts through this solemn scene. Several tombs of white marble present a fine contrast to the deep green of the foliage; and female figures, in white veils, are constantly seen offering their pious lamentations over the graves. An evening, or a morning visit to the sepulchres of their departed friends, constitutes, perhaps, all the exercises of the *Jewish* women, as they seldom leave their houses; in this respect their customs are similar to those of *Tahtars* and *Turks*.* The ascent from the cemetery to the fortress, although short, is so steep, that we were forced to alight from our horses, and actually to climb to the gateway. Several slaves, however, busied in conveying water upon the backs of asses, passed us in their way up. The spring which supplies them is below, in the defile; and a very copious reservoir, cut in the rocks above, is prepared for the use of the colony. As we passed the gate-way, and entered the town, we were met by several of the inhabitants. Colonel *Durant* inquired for a *Jew* of his acquaintance, one of the principal people in the place. We were conducted to his house; and found him, at noon, sleeping on his divan. He rose to receive us, and presently regaled us with various sorts of confectionary; among these were conserved leaves of roses, and preserved walnuts; we had also eggs, cheese, cold pies, and brandy. A messenger was dispatched for the Rabbi, whom

* "This little valley of *Jehoshaphat* is so highly valued by the Jews, that whenever the ancient Khans wished to extort from them a present, or to raise a *voluntary* contribution, it was sufficient to threaten them with the extirpation of those sacred trees, under the plausible pretence of wanting fuel or timber." *Pallas's Travels*, II. p. 35.

he invited to meet us, and who soon after made his appearance. This venerable man was held in very high consideration by them all, and with good reason; for he was exceedingly well informed, and had passed a public examination, with distinguished honour, in *Petersburg*, after being sent for expressly by the Empress Catherine. We were highly interested in their conversation, as well as in the singular circumstance of having found one *Jewish* settlement, perhaps the only one upon earth, where that people exist secluded from the rest of mankind, in the free exercise of their ancient customs and peculiarities.* The town contains about twelve hundred persons of both sexes, and not more than two hundred houses. The principal part of each dwelling belongs to the women; but every master of a family has his own private apartment, where he sleeps, smokes, and receives his friends. The room wherein we were entertained, was of this description: it was filled with MSS. many in the hand-writing of our host; others by those of his children; and all in very beautiful *Hebrew* characters. The *Karaites* deem it to be an act of piety to copy the *Bible*, or copious commentaries upon its text, once in their lives. All their MSS. copies of the *Old Testament* begin with the book of *Joshua:* even the most ancient did not contain the *Pentateuch*. This is kept apart, not in manuscript, but in a printed version, for the use of the schools.† In their synagogues, with the exception of the books of *Moses*, every thing was in manuscript. The Rabbi asked if we had any of their

* "It seems singular that such fortresses should have been possessed by such a people; yet, in Abyssinia, the *Falasha* appear similarly situated; and Jackson mentions a Jew's rock in Morocco." Heber's MS. Journal.

† "The reason given by the *Rabbi* for the omission of the books of *Moses*, in their manuscript copies, was, that the *Pentateuch*, being in constant use for the instruction of their children, was reserved apart, that the whole volume might not be liable to the injuries it would thereby sustain."

sect, KARAI, in *England;* a question we could not answer. He said there were a few in *Holland.* The etymology of their name is uncertain. The difference between their creed, and that of *Jews* in general, according to the information we received from the *Rabbi,* consists in a rejection of the *Talmud;* a disregard to every kind of tradition; to all *Rabbinical* writings or opinions; to all marginal interpolations of the text of Scripture; and, in a measure of their rule of faith by the pure letter of the Law. They pretend to have the text of the *Old Testament* in its most genuine state."

"Being desirous to possess one of their *Bibles,* the Rabbi, who seemed gratified by the circumstance, permitted us to purchase a beautiful manuscript copy, written upon vellum, about four hundred years old; but having left this volume in the *Crimea,* to be forwarded by way of Petersburg, it was never afterwards recovered. It began like all the others, with the book of *Joshua.*"

"The character of the *Karaite Jews* is directly opposite to that generally attributed to their brethren in other countries, being altogether without reproach. Their honesty is proverbial in the *Crimea;* and the word of a *Karaite* is considered equal to a bond. Almost all of them are engaged in trade or manufacture. They observe their fasts with the most scrupulous rigour, abstaining even from snuff and from smoking for twenty-four hours together. In the very earliest periods of *Jewish* history, this sect separated from the main stem: such at least, is their own account; and nothing concerning them ought to be received from Rabbinists, who hold them in detestation. For this reason, the relations of *Leo* of *Modena,* a *Rabbi* of *Venice,* are not to be admitted. Their schism is said to be as old as the return from the Babylonish captivity. They observe extraordinary care in the education of their children, who are publicly instructed in the synagogues; and in this respect the *Tahtars* are not deficient. We

rarely entered any *Tahtar* village, in the day-time, without seeing children assembled in some public place, receiving their instruction from persons appointed to superintend the care of their education; reciting with audible voices passages from the *Koran*, or busied in copying manuscript lessons placed before them. The dress of the *Karaites* differs little from that worn by the *Tahtars*. All of them, of whatsoever age, suffer their beards to grow. The *Karaites* wear also a lofty, thick, felt, cap, faced with wool: this is heavy, and keeps the head very hot. The *Turks* and *Armenians* often do the same; and in warm climates this precaution seems a preservative against the dangerous consequences resulting from obstructed perspiration."[47]

Returning to the occurrences of the *fifth* century, we remark an event, which, from its influence upon Christian literature, deserves to be recorded: this was, *the instruction of the Irish in the use of the Roman letters*, by St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. PATRICK was born in Scotland, near Dunbarton. In his sixteenth year, he was carried into captivity by certain barbarians, together with many of his father's vassals and slaves, taken upon his estate. They took him to Ireland, then called Scotia; where he was obliged to keep cattle on the mountains, and in the forests, in hunger and nakedness, amidst snows, rain, and ice. Here he learnt the language and customs of the country, from whence he was afterwards, by some pirates, conveyed into Gaul; and after various adventures returned a volunteer into Ireland, with a view to undertake the conversion of the barbarous natives, among whom the worship of idols still generally reigned. To effect his benevolent purposes, he travelled over the whole island, and not only preached frequently, but maintained and educa-

(47) Clarke's Travels in various countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa: pt i. Russia, Tahtary, and Turkey; II. ch, iv. pp. 185—194. Lond. 1816, 8vo.

See also "Extracts of Letters from the Rev. Robert Pinkerton, &c," pp. 17—20, Lond. 1817, 8vo.

ted many children, and instructed the natives in *the use of the Roman Letters*; for, before their conversion, the Irish were utterly unacquainted with the *Latin* language, without the knowledge of which, St. Patrick considered that his new converts would be incapable of reading the Scriptures, the ecclesiastical offices, and other good books; and consequently not be able to make such a progress in learning and religion, as was necessary to enable them to instruct the rest of their countrymen. On the other hand, these newly converted Christians, being well skilled in their native letters, readily became proficients in the elements of the Latin, so that Fiec, who, prior to his conversion, had been a disciple of Dub' t' ac', arch-poet to Leogar, king of Ireland, became such a proficient, that he could read the *Latin Psalter* in fifteen days. General Vallancey mentions, as being in his possession, an old vellum MS. treating of the state of the Christian church in Ireland, in the first century after St. Patrick's arrival, written in Latin, and in the Irish character.

The labours of St. Patrick proved eminently successful, and Christianity was very generally embraced throughout the Island. Fiac, one of his converts, whom he appointed bishop of the church of Sletty, wrote a poem in his praise, containing 34 distichs, which is yet extant. In one of the verses of this poem, he says, "He daily sang the *Apocalypse*, and *Hymns;* and the whole *Psalter* he sang thrice; he preached and baptized, and prayed; and he incessantly praised God." In another verse, he notices that one of his usual acts of mortification, was to stand "every night in the fountain of Slan, which was never dry, whilst he sang a hundred psalms."* He died about the year 460, at an advanced age.[48]

* This superstitious practice was not confined to St. Patrick. St. Neot, the kinsman of Alfred, St. Chad, and even Aldhelm, used to chant the Psalter, standing in wells or springs of water. See *Whitaker's Hist. of the Cathedral of Cornwall*, II. pp. 312, 313.

(48) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, II. p. 486.
Butler's Lives of the Saints, III. March 17. pp. 176—185.
Vallancey's Grammar of the Irish Language, ch. ix. pp. 146, 147; and ch. x. p. 168. Dublin, 1773, 4to.

The Schools of Ireland long maintained a high reputation. Camden observes, (Brit. de Hibern. p. 730,) that the English Saxons anciently flocked to Ireland, as to the mart of sacred learning; and this is frequently mentioned in the lives of eminent men among them. Thus, in the life of Sulgenus, in the eighth century, we read,

> Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi,
> Ivit ad Hibernos, sophia mirabile claros.
>
> With love of learning and examples fir'd,
> To Ireland, fam'd for wisdom, he retir'd.

In 791, two Irishmen going into France, were there admired for their incomparable learning, and gave birth to the two first Universities in the world, namely, those of Paris and Pavia: and our great King Alfred, in 891, listened to three learned Irishmen, in his projects for the advancement of literature. In the beginning of the ninth century, no fewer than seven thousand students visited the schools of Armagh; while there were three more rival colleges in other cities, with many private seminaries in the remoter provinces.[49] And Camden conjectures, that the Anglo-Saxons borrowed their letters from the Irish, because they used the same, or nearly the same which the Irish at this day still make use of, in writing their own language. The reader may compare the two alphabets, by referring to Plate 2, of the present volume.[50]

It is not improbable that about this period, a translation, of some parts at least, of the Scriptures was made into the BEARLA FENI, or *ancient Irish* tongue. General Vallancey, in his "Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language," quotes a valuable old MS. in his possession, in what he calls the *Phenician dialect of the ancient Irish*, and which he supposes to be part of a copy of the OLD TESTAMENT, brought to Ireland by St. KIERAN, St.

(49) Butler's Lives of the Saints, V. pp. 173, 174, Note [a.] Berington's Literary History of the Middle Ages, p. 182.
(50) Butler, *ut sup.*

AILLU, St. DECLAN, or St. IBAR, the precursors of St. Patrick.* This MS. contains only the lives of the *Patriarchs* and MOSES: it is written after the manner termed *Cionne fa eite*, a mode of writing somewhat similar to the *Boustrophedon* of the Greeks, denoted frequently in ancient MSS. by this mark ɔC, which implies that a sentence finishes, and that the reader is to go to the next line, from the end of which he is to turn to the *Cionn fa eite:*

From this old MS. the learned author of the "Essay &c." has given two extracts, which he supposes to have been designed as a version of GENESIS, &c. His translations of them are here presented to the reader.

"Buid in righam." &c. "The Queen, viz. Rebecca, hearing this discourse, after the people were gone to hunt, she straightway rose and went to Jacob, where he was

* St. KIERAN, or KIARAN, called by the Britons PIRAN, was a native of Ireland, born about A. D. 352. At 30 years of age he went to Rome, and after receiving fuller instruction in the principles of the Roman catholic church, returned to Ireland with several companions, and made many converts to Christianity, particularly among the inhabitants of Ossory. The Irish writers say he was ordained Bishop, and established his see at Saigir. He founded a monastery for himself, and another for his mother. Towards the close of life he passed into Cornwall, where he lived as an hermit, and the place where he died has obtained the name of St. Pirans in the Sands. Butler's Lives, III. p. 33.

St. AILLU, or ALBEUS, the chief patron of Munster, was converted by certain Britons, travelled to Rome, and on his return home became the friend and fellow-labourer of St. Patrick. He was the first Archbishop of Munster, and fixed his seat at Emely, now removed to Cashel. King Engus bestowed on him the isle of Arran, where he founded a great monastery. His preaching and example appear to have rendered him eminently successful as a Christian minister, "possessing a wonderful art," says his biographer, "of making men not only Christians, but saints." He died in 525. Ibid. IX. p. 130.

St. DECLAN, first Bishop of Ardmore in Ireland, was baptized by St. Colman, and preached Christianity in his native country, a little before the arrival of St. Patrick. Ibid. VII. p. 352.

St. IBAR, or IVOR, preached in Meath and Leinster, and built a monastery in Beg-erin, or Little Ireland, a small island on the coast of Kenselach, which was anciently a considerable province in Leinster. He was afterwards Abbot of the monastery of Magarnoide, in Kenselach. He is said to have been ordained Bishop either at Rome, or by St. Patrick. His sister Mella, was married to Cormac, king of Leinster. He died about the year 500. Ibid. IV. p. 264.

tending his sheep. She told him he should receive the blessing instead of the other son. How shall I do that, quoth Jacob? Do this says she; viz. kill a kid, replied the mother, and dress it and give it to him, and then I will sew the skin of the kid upon thy hands to resemble Esau, for the hands of Esau are hairy. Jacob did so, and dressed the kid, and brought with him the pottage, and presented it to his father; and he said to him, Eat this mess. O son, says Isaac, you are returned this day from hunting earlier than any former day, if you tell the truth. At the first hunt I quickly found wherewith to make you a mess of pottage, and that is the reason, says Jacob, I returned so soon. Tell not a lie, says he, for thou art Jacob, and thou art not Esau. Truly, replied he, I would not tell a lie before thee. Stretch forth thy hands, says Isaac, that I may know thou art Esau. He stretched forth his hands to him, with the skin of the kid about them; Isaac took the hand. Thou art long suspicious of me, says Jacob; I am Esau. Isaac feeling the hand said, This is the hand of Esau, and it is the voice of Jacob." &c. Vide Gen. xxvii.

"Therefore after Jacob had been with his father, he presented divers gifts to Esau his brother, as the pledge of his brotherly peace and friendship thenceforward; these are the gifts; viz. 200 Ewes, and 200 She Goats, and 30 Camels, and 40 Cows; 20 Rams, 20 young Bulls," as the Poet has said.

"Two hundred Ewes, XX He-Goats
Two hundred She-Goats, he generously bestowed.
XX Rams, without fault, he gave,
XL Kine, which proudly herd together.
Twenty Bulls with massy hides,
And XXX Camels giving milk.
XX very fair She-Asses,
And XX Colts along with them.
These were the Peace Offerings to Esau,
From Jacob most sincerely given;
For having wandered from the truth,
These are the numbers of the hundreds (given.)"
Vide Genesis, ch. xxxii. 13. [51]

(51) Vallancey's Essay on An. of Irish Lan. pp. 55—60. Dub. 1772, 8vo.

CHAPTER IV.

SIXTH CENTURY.

Theodoric the Goth. Cassiodorus. Avitus. Philoxenian Syriac Version. Philoxenus. Mar Abba. Georgian Version. Councils of Agde, Toledo, and Vaison. Monastery of Iona. Columba. Culdees. Baithen. Arator. Gregory the Great. Augustin. Library of first Christian Church at Canterbury. Codex Ephremi. Codices Rescripti. Abbreviations.

THE close of the fifth, and the commencement of the *sixth* century, presented the singular fact, of an illiterate *Goth* promoting the interests of literature. THEODORIC, the sovereign of the Ostrogoths, having invaded and conquered Italy, caused himself to be proclaimed King. By a wise and conciliatory policy he continued his new subjects in the possession of their former laws, which he commanded to be inviolably observed; retained the same form of government, the same distribution of provinces, the same magistrates and dignities; and exercised the most liberal toleration towards those whose religious tenets differed from his own. Educated amongst his own barbarous countrymen, and his education a military one, he was extremely illiterate, and incapable of writing his own name. For the purpose of signing the royal edicts, the four Greek letters ΘΕΟΔ. forming the abbreviations of his name, were cut for him in a plate of gold, and the plate being laid upon paper, he traced the letters with a pen. This, however, does not detract from the real merit of Theodoric, who, rising above the prejudices of his education, became the warm patron of learning in others. A proof of his discriminating mind was given, in choosing

for his principal adviser, a man of great learning and integrity, the celebrated Cassiodorus. Theodoric died in 526.[1]

Marcus Aurelius Cassiodorus was born in Calabria, of an illustrious family. To his councils Italy was indebted for its repose, and Theodoric for his fame. He had experienced the patronage of Odoacer; but under Theodoric had been raised to the highest offices of the state, which he continued to administer under his successors, till the commencement of the Gothic war. He then retired from all public employments, and, in A.D. 542, built a monastery, which he provided not only with the necessaries, but also with the conveniences, and even the elegancies of life, such as fish-ponds, baths, fountains, sun-dials, &c. In his retirement, he applied himself to subjects adapted to his new calling. He employed his monks in the meritorious labours of transcription; he was instrumental in procuring translations of Greek authors; and he enriched his monastery with a copious collection of books. Such of the monks as were not good scribes he employed in agriculture and gardening, which he directed them to conduct on scientific principles. In his writings he highly commends those who laboured to procure and multiply accurate copies of the Sacred Writings. "The transcriber (antiquarius,)" says he, "inflicts as many wounds on Satan, as he produces copies." In his own monastery he neglected nothing that might tend to the accuracy of the transcriptions of the Bible. "For what benefit," he inquires, "can result from a multitude of copies that are incorrect?" And even in the copying of other MSS. he was so strenuous with his monks to preserve the phraseology, and orthography, of the most rude and obsolete writings which they copied, that he informs us, they clamoured against him for refusing to permit them to modernize some of the works they transcribed, and there-

(1) Berington's Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages, pp. 103, 104. Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, II. p. 214.

by preventing the entertainment and profit they should otherwise derive from them. In the library of his monastery he placed the *Hebrew* and *Greek* originals of the *Old* and *New Testament*, together with the *Septuagint version*, and that of *Jerom*, as well as the old *Italic;* and took care to have correct copies taken of them for the use of the monks; to whom he recommended a careful comparison of the different versions, and especially of the original text, for the solution of the difficulties they might meet with in the perusal of the Scriptures, as well as to ascertain, in general, the true sense of the Holy Scriptures. He was also careful that the copies of the Scriptures, transcribed under his direction, should be written in an uniform and fair hand; and that the various sections and divisions, into which the Bible had been first divided by Jerom, from the example of profane authors, should be cautiously preserved for the accommodation of the reader. He did more, for he not only promoted the interests of Sacred Literature, by the accuracy and number of his transcriptions of the Bible; but also illustrated the Sacred Writings by the delineations of his pencil. Bede, (De Tabernaculo. lib. ii.) who flourished about two hundred years after Cassiodorus, mentions having seen a sciographic delineation of the Tabernacle, formed from the description given by Moses in the twenty-sixth chapter of Exodus. This great man closed a long life of piety and usefulness, about the year 562.[2] A list of his works may be seen in Cave's *Historia Literaria.* They have been several times printed, but the best edition is by J. B. Garet, printed at Rouen, in 1672, in 2 vols. folio. They are also in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Tom. xi. p. 1094.

About the commencement of this century, ALCIMUS ECDICIUS AVITUS, a nobleman of Gaul, and archbishop of

(2) Sixt. Senensi, Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iv. p. 261. Colon. Agrip. 1626, 4to. Simon's Critical Hist. of the Versions of the N. T. pt. ii. ch. viii, x. Bibliog. Dict. II. p. 138.

Vienna, became celebrated by his writings, and pious and successful labours in his episcopal office, particularly in reclaiming Gundobald, king of Burgundy, and his son Sigismund, with others, from the errors of Arius. Beside other poems, he wrote one in hexameter verse, in five books; each book being appropriated to some Biblical subject: the first was, *Of the Origin of the World;* the second, *Of the Original Sin;* the third, *Of the Judgment of God;* the fourth, *Of the Deluge;* and the fifth, *Of the Passing over the Red Sea.* His poetry is said to have been uncommonly elegant for the rude age in which he lived. He died February the 5th, A. D. 523.(3)

PHILOXENUS, bishop of Hierapolis, now Pambouk, in Syria, was another eminent character of this age. To him we owe the SYRIAC version of the New Testament, called from him the *Philoxenian.* This translation was made at his request, and under his patronage, by POLYCARP, his Chorepiscopus, or rural bishop,* from the Greek, in A. D. 508. In 616, THOMAS, a native of Harkel in Palestine, and bishop of Germanicia, undertook a critical revision of this version, and for this purpose visited Egypt, in order to collate it with some of the best MSS. in the Alexandrian Library; the various readings of which he afterwards placed in the margin of his own copy, from whence they appear to have been transcribed by other

(3) Berington, *ubi sup.*
Simondi Opuscula, II. *S. Aviti Opera.* Paris, 1643.

* "Those to whom the instruction and management of the surrounding country churches were committed by the diocesan, were termed chorepiscopi, i. e. τῆς χώρας ἐπισκοποὶ, "rural bishops." Persons of this description are doubtless to be considered as having held a middle rank between the bishops and the presbyters: for to place them on a level with the former is impossible, since they were subject to their diocesan; but, at the same time, it is manifest that they were superior in rank to presbyters, inasmuch as they were not accustomed to look up to the bishop for orders or direction, but were invested with constant authority to teach, and in other respects to exercise the episcopal functions." *Mosheim's Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians before the time of Constantine, translated by R. S. Vidal,* I. p. 234.

copyists. In the twelfth century, Dionysius Barsalibæus, who was bishop of Amida, now called Diarbekir, from A. D. 1166 to A. D. 1171, again revised the Philoxenian version, and published a new edition of it. It was, however, but little known in Europe before the middle of the last century, when the attention of Biblical scholars was directed to it, by the excellent copies of it sent from Amida, by Mr. Palmer, to the Rev. Gloster Ridley, minister of Poplar, near London, and afterwards prebendary of Salisbury. The learned Wetstein visited England to examine these MSS. and in his Prolegomena, prefixed to his valuable edition of the Greek New Testament, favoured the public with a particular description of them. A still more elaborate account of them was given in 1761, by Mr. Ridley, who, at the request of Professor Michaelis, published an excellent essay on this version, entitled "Dissertatio de Syriacarum Novi Fœderis versionum indole atque usu; Philoxenianam cum Simplici e duobus pervetustis Codd. MSS. ab Amida transmissis conferente Glocestrio Ridley." The FOUR GOSPELS copied from these MSS. were printed at Oxford, in 1778, by Dr. White, professor of Arabic; who has since published the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, and the CATHOLIC EPISTLES.[4]

PHILOXENUS, or XENAYAS, was a Persian, born in the city of Tahal. He was of the sect of the Monophysites, and by his zeal for the doctrines he had embraced, and his opposition to image worship, which already greatly prevailed in the Greek church, so irritated his opponents, that they seized every opportunity to calumniate him, and even to stigmatize him as a Manichæan. Being advanced to the bishopric of Hierapolis, or as it was called, by the Syrians, Mabug, he warmly espoused the cause of Severus, a celebrated Monophysite priest, and procured him the see of Antioch. Having incurred the displeasure

(4) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. ch. vii. sec. 11. & pt. ii. pp. 568—580.

of the Emperor Justin, he was banished into Thrace, and from thence into Paphlagonia, where his enemies cruelly murdered him, by suffocating him in a room filled with smoke. The Monophysites place him amongst their martyrs. His death happened about A. D. 520, after having occupied the see of Hierapolis nearly forty years. A list of his works is given by Asseman, in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. II. pp. 23—46. Except a Commentary on the Scriptures, and a translation of Syriac prayers into Arabic, they consist chiefly of controversial treatises, in defence of his peculiar tenets.[5]

The OLD TESTAMENT was also translated from Greek into *Syriac*, by Mar Abba, about the same time as the Philoxenian version of the New. This MAR ABBA, was Mafrejan, or primate of the East, between the years 535 and 552. He was by birth a Persian, educated in the religion of Zoroaster, without any instruction either in Greek or Syriac; but after he was converted to Christianity, he learned Syriac at Nisibis, and Greek at Edessa, from a Jacobite Christian, of the name of Thomas, whom he afterwards accompanied to Alexandria, and there applied himself to making translations.[6] There was also another version of the OLD TESTAMENT, from the Greek, into Syriac, executed some years afterwards by PAULUS, bishop of Tela of Mauzalat. Scarcely a fragment now remains of these two versions.[7]

Professor Adler, in his "Biblical and Critical Journey to Rome," printed at Altona, in 1783, gives a description of a *Lectionarium*, which he met with in the Vatican Library, containing portions of a Syriac version of the New Testament, in the dialect spoken in Jerusalem; and which he supposes, in point of antiquity, to hold a middle rank,

(5) Assemanni Biblioth. Orient. II. pp. 10—23.
La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme d'Ethiopie, pp. 36—39.
(6) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. p. 53.
(7) Classical Journal, VII. p. 196.

between the Peshito, and the Philoxenian versions.[8]

Asseman, in his *Bibliotheca Medicea*, notices an illuminated MS. of the *Syriac Version of the Gospels*, written A. D. 586; and gives 26 plates, illustrative of the illuminations. And in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, he mentions another *MS. of the Syriac. Gospels*, which bears the date A. D. 548.[9]

At the end of the sixth, or the beginning of the seventh century, the Scriptures were also translated into the GEORGIAN language. When Sir John Chardin, visited the East, in the seventeenth century, he found this version still in use, though the language of it was become nearly obsolete. His words are, "There is not a man among 'em," (in Mingrelia,) "that understands the Bible, or that reads it; there being very few among 'em that can read, or understand the *Georgian;* which is the only language wherein they have the Holy Scriptures written. But as for the women, they are not altogether so ignorant as the men; so that you shall have some of them who will rehearse several stories of the Gospel, which they have read and got by heart." At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the whole of the NEW TESTAMENT, with a part of the OLD, consisting of the PSALMS, and the PROPHETS, were printed at Teflis, in Georgia, by order of the Prince Vaktangh. In 1743, *the whole Georgian Bible* was printed at Moscow, under the inspection of the Georgian princes, Arcil and Bacchar; and in 1815, the *Moscow Auxiliary Bible Society* printed an edition of 5000 Georgian New Testaments.[10]

Those which have been already mentioned, are the only translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongues,

(8) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. p. 75; & pt. ii. pp. 582—585.
(9) Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, I. p. xxxiii.
Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. p. 21.
(10) Marsh's Hist. of the Translations of the Scriptures, p. 32.
Chardin's Travels into Persia, &c. I. p. 103. Lond. 1686, fol.
Twelfth Report of the B. and F. Bible Society, p. 17.

which appear to have been made during the sixth century; unless we add to them some unimportant *Latin* ones, designed to accompany copies in other languages, and placed in parallel columns with them, as the Greek and Latin; and Gothic and Latin versions.[11]

The COUNCIL OF AGDE, a city in France, held A. D. 506, in which Cæsarius, bishop of Arles presided, made a number of canons, relating to discipline, one or two of which may be mentioned, as referring to the Scriptures. One of these forbade auguries, and divinations, and *the opening of the Scriptures*, with a view to make an omen of the first words that offered, under penalty of excommunication. Another orders "Laymen to remain in the church, till the blessing is pronounced," since it had become a practice with some persons to leave the church, as soon as the Scriptures had been read.—Cæsarius, one day, observing some persons going out of the Church, to avoid hearing the sermon, cried out with a loud voice, "What are you about my children? Where are you going? Stay, stay for the good of your souls, at the day of judgment it will be too late to exhort you." He also frequently caused the church doors to be shut, after the Gospel was read, in order to prevent the impious practice. His just and charitable zeal proved at length successful, and his people were reclaimed.[12] The council of TOLEDO in Spain, held A. D. 581, enjoined that the clergy should read the Scriptures at the hours of refreshment to exclude trifling and unnecessary conversation, and to edify and instruct their minds.[13]

In 529, a council was held at VAISON, at which were present twelve bishops, of whom Cæsarius was one. They decreed, according to the custom observed in Italy, that all country priests should receive into their houses

(11) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. pp. 133. 136.
(12) Milner's History of the Church of Christ, III. pp. 10, 11.
(13) Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, II. p. 340.

young men, who might be readers in the church; that they should educate them with a paternal regard, causing them to learn the Psalms, to read the Scriptures, and to be acquainted with the Word of God; and in this way provide themselves with worthy successors."[14]

Of the SCHOOLS or SEMINARIES of this age, none excelled, in the study of the Holy Scriptures, the monastery of IONA, or *Icolmkill*, an island of the Hebrides, "once the *Luminary* of the Caledonian regions," (as Dr. Johnson calls it,) "whence savage clans, and roving barbarians, derived the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion."

COLUMBA, the founder of this monastery, was of royal extraction, and born at Gartan, in the county of Tyrconnel, in Ireland, in the year 521. He received his education first under Cruinechan, a devout presbyter, and afterwards under Finian, bishop of Cluain-iraird, or Clonard; he also spent some time with Ciaran, the founder of the monastery of Clon, upon the Shenan. In 546, he was advanced to the priesthood, and soon began to be celebrated for his admirable lessons of piety, and sacred learning. About the year 550, he founded the great monastery of Dair-Magh, now called Durrogh, in King's County, beside several other smaller ones. He at length turned his attention to the isles, and northern parts of Scotland, which were still covered with darkness, and held in the shackles of superstition, and resolved to become the apostle of the Highlands. Accordingly, in the year 563, or 565, "he set out," says his biographer, "in a wicker boat, covered with hides, accompanied by twelve of his friends and followers, and landed in the isle of Hi, or Iona, near the confines of the Scottish and Pictish territories."

By the preaching and virtues of Columba, many of the northern Picts were led to embrace Christianity, who gave

(14) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, III. p. 21.

him the small island on which he first landed. Here he built his monastery, which became the chief seminary of learning at that time, perhaps in Europe, and the nursery from which not only the monasteries of his own island, and above three hundred churches, which he himself had established, but also many of those in neighbouring nations were supplied with learned divines, and able pastors. In this seminary, which might justly have been called a *Missionary College*, the students spent much of their time in reading, and in transcribing the Scriptures and sacred hymns, which Columba was at pains should be done with the greatest care and accuracy, in which he was surprisingly successful. Baithen, one of his disciples, requested him on one occasion, to permit one of the brethren to read over, and correct a copy of the Psalter, which he had written; Columba replied, that it had been already examined, and that there was only *one* error in it, which was the want of the vowel *i*, in a single instance.

The followers of Columba were called CULDEES, or *Keldees*, a term, the etymon of which has exercised the ingenuity of the learned, who have offered a variety of plausible derivations, of which the most satisfactory are those that refer it to the religious life they led, and consider it as equivalent to "servants or worshippers of God." They were taught to confirm their doctrines by testimonies brought from the unpolluted fountain of the *Word of God*, and to teach that only to be the Divine Counsel which was found there. To those who were under his immediate instruction, Columba explained the difficult passages of Scripture with a happy perspicuity and ease. In his earlier studies he seems not to have confined himself to theology, but to have extended his inquiries much further into the general circle of science. For his knowledge of physic, or skill in healing diseases was so great, that his cures were often considered as miracles. And in the history, laws, and customs of different nations he was so

well versed, that he made a principal figure in the great council held at Drimceat, about the right of succession to the Scottish throne. But whatever degree of knowledge and education Columba might have received in his earlier years, he never ceased by intense study and application to add to it. Every moment which so active and pious a life could spare from its main business, was devoted to study. Sometimes he heard his disciples read, and sometimes he read himself; sometimes he transcribed, and sometimes read and corrected what had been transcribed by others. In his life we find mention made occasionally of various books of his writing and copying; Odonellus says, not less than three hundred! And Sir William Ware, (Antiq. Hib.) mentions a MS. copy of the FOUR GOSPELS of St. Jerom's translation, adorned with silver plates, formerly preserved in the abbey of Durrogh, and still extant, in the beginning of which is an inscription, which testifies that it was written by Columba, in the space of twelve days.

Having continued his labours in Scotland for more than thirty years, and conscious of his approaching end, he said to his attendant Diermit, "This day is called the sabbath, that is, the day of rest, and such will it truly be to me; for it will put an end to my labours." He afterwards ascended a little eminence above his monastery, where he stood, and lifting both his hands to heaven, prayed God to bless it, and make it prosper. From thence he returned to his closet, and as he wished his usefulness to man to be commensurate with the moments of his life, and to make a part of his ultimate preparation for heaven, he spent some time in transcribing the Psalter. When he came to that passage in the thirty-fourth Psalm, where it is written, *They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing*, he said, "Here I have come to the end of a page, and to a very proper part to stop at; for the following words, *Come, ye children, hearken unto me; I will*

teach you the fear of the Lord, will better suit my successor than me. I will therefore leave it to Baithen to transcribe them." He then rose and went to evening service in the church; and after coming home, sat down on his bed, and gave a Charge to Dermit, to deliver to his disciples, as his dying words. After this he remained silent, till the bell was rung for vigils at midnight; when hastily rising, and going to church, he arrived there before any other, and kneeled down at the altar to pray. Dermit, without waiting for the lamps, followed him, and found him in the dark, lying before the altar, in a praying posture. When the liglits were brought, it was discovered that he was dying; and though his voice had failed, he looked round upon the monks, who had flocked to their beloved master, and with a smile of inexpressible cheerfulness, raised his right hand, and making a motion which he used in giving his benediction, breathed his last. Thus died this great and good man, on the 9th of June, A. D. 597, and in the 77th year of his age.[15]

Baithen, the cousin, favourite disciple, and immediate successor of Columba, as abbot of Iona, was much renowned for his wisdom, learning, and sanctity. In a very ancient account of his life, it is said that no man ever saw him idle, but always engaged in reading, praying, or working; that next to Columba, he was deemed to be the best acquainted with the Scriptures, and to have the greatest extent of learning on this side the Alps.[16]

Iona continued to be the seat of learning and piety for ages; and many who received their education there, became zealous and successful missionaries amongst the idolaters, especially in the north of Europe. In the ninth century, the Danes dislodged the monks, and the *Cluni-*

(15) Smith's Life of St. Columba, Edin. 1798, 8vo. *passim.*
Jamieson's Historical Account of the ancient Culdees, pp. 3—5. 29. 309. Edin. 1811, 4to.
Butler's Lives of the Saints, VI. June 9th.

(16) Smith's Life of St. Columba, p. 43, *note.*

acs were the next order that settled there; but it would appear, that prior to that period, learning had considerably decayed among them, for it is a singular fact, that, whether it was owing to the depredations of the Danes, or to the indifference of the Culdees of Iona to the works of the Fathers, the only book of this description which they possessed in that century was *one of the works of Chrysostom.* Many of the kings of Scotland, and Ireland, and of the Isles, were buried in the island; and in former times, it was the place where the archives of Scotland, and many valuable old MSS. were kept, most of which are supposed to have been destroyed at the Reformation; and others are said to have been carried to the Scotch college, at Douay, in France; and such is at present the neglected state of the island, that this once illustrious seat of learning and piety, has now no school for education, no temple for worship, no instructor in religion, except when visited by the parish minister of Kilfinichin. "The name IONA is now also quite lost in the country, and it is always called I, (sounded like *ee,*) except when the speaker would wish to lay an emphasis upon the word, then it is called *I-Colum-kill.*" (Stat. Acc. Vol. XIV. p. 198.) The ruins, however, are kept in better preservation than most ruins of this sort in Scotland, by the attention of the family of Argyle.[17]

In the *sixth* century also, flourished the Latin poet, ARATOR. He was by birth a Ligurian, and his profession that of an advocate or lawyer. Athalaric, the Gothic king, advanced him to an office of considerable rank and confidence; but wearied with the pomp and anxiety attendant on the life of a courtier, he at length entered into the church, and was chosen sub-deacon. About the year 540, he composed a metrical version of the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, in 2 books; which was publicly recited in the

(17) Jamieson's Historical Account of the ancient Culdees, p. 36. Encyc. Perth. *Icolumkill, Iona.*

church of St. Peter, at Rome, before Pope Vigilius, with unbounded applause. He likewise addressed a poetical epistle to Parthenon, to whom he transmitted his "Historia Apostolorum," or "Acts of the Apostles," for circulation in Gaul. His poems have been several times printed. The most noted editions are, one printed at Salamanca in 1516, in folio, with the notes of Arrius Mendosa, and another in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Tom. X. p. 125.[18]

A few years afterwards, the Christian church witnessed the rare instance of a Roman pontiff, sedulously endeavouring to promote an acquaintance with the Sacred Scriptures, among all ranks of persons under his influence. GREGORY I. surnamed the *Great*, had been called to the papal chair, A. D. 590, in defiance of his wishes and most determined opposition. A man of rank, of education, and of talents, he had in early life distinguished himself in the senate, and been raised by the emperor to be prefect or governor of Rome; but finding courts, and the anxieties of magistracy, unfavourable to religion, had abandoned his worldly honours for retirement, and religious pursuits. The unanimous suffrages of the papal electors, the voice of the people, and the decision of the civil power, at length forced him from his solitude, and obliged him to assume the triple mitre. On his elevation he adopted the title of *Servant of the Servants of Jesus Christ;* and distinguished himself by the earnestness with which he urged the reading of the Scriptures. These he compared to a river; in some places so shallow, that a lamb might easily pass through them; and in others so deep, that an elephant might be drowned in them. "The SCRIPTURES," said he, "are infinitely elevated above all other instructions. They instruct us in the truth: they call us to heaven; they change the heart of him who reads them, by producing desires more noble and excellent in

(18) Cavei Hist. Literaria, p. 410.
Sixt. Senens. Lib. iv. p. 247.

their nature than what were formerly experienced;—formerly they grovelled in the dust, they are now directed to eternity. The sweetness and condescension of the Holy Scriptures comfort the weak and imperfect; their obscurity exercises the strong. Not so superficial as to induce contempt, not so mysterious as to deserve neglect, the use of them redoubles our attachment to them; whilst, assisted by the simplicity of their expressions, and the depth of their mysteries, the more we study them, the more we love them. They seem to expand and rise in proportion as those who read them rise and increase in knowledge. Understood by the most illiterate, they are always new to the most learned." To eulogiums on the Sacred Writings, Gregory united the most animated persuasions. Writing to a physician, he represents the WORD of GOD, as an epistle addressed by the Creator to his creatures; and as no one would disregard such an honour from his prince, wherever he might be, or whatever might be his engagements, but would be eager to examine its contents; so ought we never to neglect the epistles sent to us by the Lord of angels and men, but on the contrary, read them with ardour and attention. "Study, meditate," said he, "the words of your Creator, that from them you may learn what is in the heart of GOD towards you, and that your soul may be inflamed with the most ardent desires after celestial and eternal good." This great man not only used persuasions, but adduced examples, and particularly referred to the conduct of a poor paralytic man, who lived at Rome, called SERVULUS; who, unable himself to read, purchased a Bible, and by entertaining religious persons, whom he engaged to read to him, and at other times persuading his mother to perform the same office, had learned the Scriptures by heart; and who, even when he came to die, discovered his love to them, by obliging his attendants to sing Psalms with him.

The last letter he ever wrote, addressed to Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, discovers, by the present with which it was accompanied, his value for the Scriptures. "I send," says he, "to the prince Adoaldus, your son, a cross, and a BOOK OF THE GOSPELS in a Persian box; and to your daughter three rings, desiring you to give them these things with your own hand, to enhance the value of the present."[19]

Gregory's decided opposition to persecution was scarcely less remarkable than his love to the Scriptures. It was a maxim with him, that men should be won over to the Christian religion by gentleness, kindness, and diligent instruction, and not by menaces and terror. "Conversions owing to force," says he, in one of his letters, "are never sincere; and such as are thus converted, scarcely ever fail to return to their vomit, when the force is removed that wrought their conversion." Happy had it been for mankind, if the successors of Gregory had possessed the same attachment to the Scriptures, and adopted the same views of persecution![20]

It was this Gregory, who, zealous for the conversion of the inhabitants of BRITAIN, sent over the monk AUGUSTIN, or *Austin*, with forty companions, on a mission to the Anglo-Saxons.[21] Christianity indeed had been planted in Britain at a very early period, either by the apostles themselves, as many have supposed; or, according to those ancient British records, *The Triads*, by BRAN or BRENNUS, the father of Caradoc, or Caractacus, the famous British general; who, being taken prisoner with his son, and carried to Rome, A. D. 51 or 52, embraced Christianity, and on his return, became anxious to evangelize the country of the *Silures*, or Britons, who inhabit-

(19) See Gregory's Works, as cited in Usserii Hist. Dogmat. pp. 92, 93. Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dict. XVI. p. 260.

(20) Bower's Hist. of the Popes, II. p. 274.

(21) Bedæ Eccles. Hist. Lib. i. ch xxiii. and Lib. ii, ch. i.

ed South Wales.[22] But such had been the cruelty and persecutions of the Saxons and others, united to the influence of pagan conquests, that, prior to the mission of Austin and his companions, heathenism had again overspread the land, except in Wales, Cornwall, and Cumberland, where the Britons still retained some footing.

Austin and the other missionaries were favourably received by Ethelbert, king of Kent, who had married Birtha, a Christian princess of great virtue and merit; an audience was granted them in the open air; and afterwards, permission given them to use their best endeavours to convert the people from the worship of idols, and turn them to the true and living God. The attempt was to a certain extent successful, but was disgraced by the directions received from the Roman pontiff, to accommodate the ceremonies of the Christian worship to the usages of the idolaters. Heathen temples, where they could be obtained, were to be preferred to churches specially erected for Christian worship, that the new converts might not be startled by too great a change: and because the heathens had been accustomed to sacrifice oxen to the devil, and feast upon the sacrifices, Christians were to be allowed, on certain festivals, to erect booths or tabernacles near the churches, when oxen were to be killed, and the people to feast together to the honour of God. Nay, so far was this principle of accommodation carried, that *Venerable* Bede, one of our oldest ecclesiastical historians, who was born A. D. 672, assures us, that there was in the same temple, one altar for the sacrifices of idolatry, and another for the services of Christianity;[23] and Procopius, who lived about the middle of the *sixth* century, affirms, that even HUMAN SACRIFICES continued to be

(22) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, I. B. i. ch. ii. sec. 2. p. 183. 8vo. Hughes' Horæ Britannicæ, II. ch. i. p. 19. Lond. 1819, 8vo.

(23) Bedæ, Hist. Eccles, Lib. i. ch. xxx. and Lib. ii. ch. x.

offered by those Franks who had embraced the Christian religion!![24]

Gregory, who had been desirous to establish this mission long before his advancement to the pontificate, neglected nothing which he supposed would contribute to its success; that the missionaries therefore might perform the public duties of religion with decency and propriety, he sent over a number of vestments, sacred utensils, and relics, accompanied by a valuable present of *books*; a present peculiarly wanted, from the impossibility of procuring books in Britain; it being doubtful whether the pagan conquerors had not utterly destroyed every thing of the sort, and by the time of the arrival of Austin, not left *one book* in the whole island.[25]

A curious account of the Books belonging to the *first* Christian church erected at Canterbury, by the monkish missionary and his companions, is furnished by H. Wanley, in his *Catalogus Librorum Veterum Septentrionalium*, from the *Liber Cantuarensis*, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The following is an abridged translation of the catalogue of them.

"The Gregorian Bible, in 2 vols. In the *first* volume, the title of the book of Genesis is written in red letters; and in *both* volumes, several splendid purple and rose-coloured leaves are inserted at the beginning of each book."

"A Psalter, called the *Psalter of Augustine*, from having been presented to him by Gregory himself."

"The Four Gospels, denominated St. Mildred's; and of which it is related, that a rustic, in the isle of Thanet, having sworn falsely upon them, he was struck with blindness."

"A Psalter, ornamented with a miniature painting of Samuel the priest; and adorned on the outside with the

(24) Procopius De Bello Gothico, B. ii. cited in Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, B. ii. ch. xxiii. p. 154.

(25) Bedæ, Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. xxix.
Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, IV. B. ii. ch. iv. p. 20.

Image of Christ, and the Four Evangelists, on a plate of silver."

"The FOUR GOSPELS."

"A MARTYROLOGY, containing The Sufferings of the Apostles, The Life of St. John, and The Dispute of St. Peter and St. Paul with Simon Magus; ornamented with the Image of Christ, embossed in silver."

"A MARTYROLOGY, beginning with Apollinaris, and terminating with Simplicius, Faustinus, and Beatrice; and adorned with an Image of the Divine Majesty, in silver gilt, and enriched with precious stones."

"An EXPOSITION OF THE GOSPELS AND EPISTLES, appointed to be read from the third Sunday after the Octave of Easter, to the fourth Sunday after the Octave of Whitsunday; richly ornamented with a large beryl, set round with diamonds and other precious stones."

"These," adds the ancient writer, "are the first-fruits of the books belonging to the whole Anglican church."[26] But it may be remarked, that beside these, Austin brought with him a copy of Gregory's work on the "Pastoral Care."

Leland, (De Script. Brit. pp. 299, 300,) intimates that this library was afterwards considerably enlarged by the exertions of the monkish archbishop. "Augustin," says he, "collected by his friends in Italy many volumes both Latin and Greek, and took care to have them sent him, all of which he left at death to his monks, as pledges of his kindness towards them; the *Greek* are lost partly by the violence of times, partly by fire, partly too by theft; but as to the *Latin*, written after the manner of the ancients, in the large kind of Roman characters, these even now remain, presenting an incredibly majestic air of antiquity in their aspect, namely, two volumes containing the FOUR GOSPELS, but in a version different from that of the Vulgate; a PSALTER, dedicated even by Jerom himself to

(26) Hickesii Ling. Vet. Sept. Thesaurus, II, p. 172. fol.

Damasus, the Roman pontiff, which I would willingly believe to be the very original; besides two most elegant *Commentaries on the Psalms,* which, from their too great age, admit no reader, except one that is very keen-eyed."[27] Astle, in his *Origin and Progress of Writing,* notices several of the volumes originally belonging to this library, which are yet extant, and of which he gives *fac-similes.* But that Christian library must certainly be deemed extremely defective, which contained no more of the *Old Testament* than the *Psalter;* nor of the *New Testament,* more than the *Four Gospels,* and an *Exposition of some parts of the Epistles!*

The *Acts of the Apostles,* the *Epistles,* and the *Apocalypse,* or *Revelation,* were in this age but rarely copied, and consequently but seldom read. The *Four Gospels* were what were chiefly transcribed, and many persons of the most illustrious rank seem to have possessed no other portions of the Holy Scriptures. Gregory of Tours relates a singular occurrence that took place towards the close of the sixth century, which illustrates this fact. Childebert, king of Austrasia, in one of his victories over the Goths, having obtained possession of the treasures of the church, as a part of the spoils, found amongst them sixty chalices, or cups; fifteen patens, or plates for the use of the communion; and twenty boxes, or *cases to hold the books of the Gospels,* all of pure gold, and richly ornamented with jewels. The celebrated copy of the Gothic translation, called the CODEX ARGENTEUS, is, with some probability, supposed to have been found in one of the cases.[28]

The CODEX EPHREMI, preserved in the Royal Library, in Paris, and which Wetstein supposes to have been written before A. D. 542, forms an exception to the general

(27) Whitaker's Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall, II. p. 324.
(28) Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. Lib. iii. cap. x.
Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. p. 146.

practice, being originally a copy of the whole Greek Bible, both of the Old and New Testaments. It is written on vellum, and is what is termed by Biblical critics, a *Codex Rescriptus*. i. e. a manuscript which has been defaced and another work written upon it, on the same vellum or parchment; and is a demonstrative proof of that *Scarcity of materials for writing upon*, which prevailed during the middle ages, and of that barbarous ignorance which overspread Europe for several centuries. It is called the *Codex Ephremi* from the fact of several Greek works of Ephrem the Syrian having been written over the more ancient writing of the Bible. The traces, however, of the earlier writing are visible, and in many parts so far legible as to be read by a person of good eye sight.[29]

A very valuable *Codex Rescriptus* was discovered about 30 years since, by the Rev. Dr. Barrett, senior fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. While he was examining different books in the library of that College, he accidentally met with a very ancient Greek MS. on certain leaves of which he observed a two-fold writing, the one ancient, and the other comparatively recent, transcribed over the former. The original writing on these leaves had been greatly defaced, either by the injuries of time, or by art. On close examination he found, that this ancient MS. consisted of the three following fragments; the Prophet *Isaiah*, the Evangelist *St. Matthew*, and certain *Orations of Gregory Nazianzen*. The fragment containing St. Matthew's Gospel, he carefully transcribed, and the whole has been accurately engraved in fac-simile, by the order and at the expense of the University, presenting to the reader a perfect resemblance of every page, line, and letter of the original. Only sixty-four leaves remain of the original fragment of St. Matthew's Gospel, and even those are in a very mutilated state. Each page contains one column, and the columns consist of twenty-one

(29) Marsh's Michaelis, II. ch. viii. pt, i. sec. 6. p. 258.

lines, and sometimes, though rarely, of twenty-two or twenty-three; the lines are nearly of equal lengths, and consist ordinarily of eighteen or twenty letters. Dr. Barrett with great probability fixes its age to the *Sixth* century. The Doctor gives the following reasons for this opinion, which at once display his critical sagacity, and present the reader with interesting information.

1. It is written in the square or uncial character, which is that of the most ancient MSS. and inscriptions: it began to be disused in the seventh century, and soon afterwards gave place to the small, oblong, and inclined character, the uncial being only preserved in the *titles* of books, &c.

2. It not only possesses internal marks of very high antiquity; but is destitute of all those which characterize MSS. of a modern, or comparatively modern date. It has neither *spirits* nor *accents*, which in the opinion of the learned Montfaucon, were first introduced in the seventh century: and though the writing is both accurate and extremely elegant, yet it has no *flourished* or *ornamented* letters, which prevailed in MSS. of the ninth and following centuries.

3. It agrees with the most ancient MSS. in its readings, &c. and particularly with the *Codex Bezæ*, and omits the *doxology*, Matthew vi. 13.

4. Though the *Ammonian Sections* are exhibited in this MS. the *Eusebian Canons* usually connected with them are wanting, as in the *Cod. Cant.*—yet these are found connected in MSS. which boast the remotest antiquity, such as the *Codex Ephrem:* and the *Codex Alexandrinus.*

5. The *vellum* on which this MS. is written, was originally of a *purple* colour, which is allowed by the best judges to be a proof of the greatest antiquity.

6. There are evidences that the original writing on this vellum had not been removed by art, in order to write another work in its place, but had faded through

the long lapse of time; as there are found in it unquestionable proofs of an attempt to retrace some of the evanescent letters with fresh ink, previously to the rescript.

The *later writing* contains several tracts of some of the Greek fathers, and is attributed by Dr. Barrett to a scribe of the thirteenth century.[30]

The writers of the CODICES RESCRIPTI, or as they were sometimes called CODICES PALIMPSESTI, employed various methods to obliterate the ancient writings; sometimes they pared off the surface of the parchment or vellum MSS. sometimes they boiled them in water; at other times discharged the ink by some chemical process, particularly by the use of quick-lime; and sometimes only partially defaced the writing with a sponge; or where it was already faded through age, pursued their transcriptions without further erasure.[31] These processes so destructive to literature, were commenced at an early period, for in the canons of the council of Trullo, held in the seventh century, we find one made expressly against this and similar practices: Can. 68. "They that tear, or cut the books of the *Old* or *New Testament*, or of the holy doctors, or sell them to *Depravers of Books*, or apothecaries, or any one who will make away with them, unless they be worn out and useless, is excommunicated for a year: they that buy them, except to keep, or sell again for the benefit of themselves or others, or *go about to corrupt them*, let them be excommunicated."[32] Montfaucon, who was perhaps better qualified than any other man in Europe to give an opinion on this subject, informs us, that these destructive processes were in most

(30) See Review of Dr. Barrett's *Evangelium Secundum Matthæum* &c. in Eclectic Review, III. pt. i. p. 193.

(31) Peignot, Essai sur l' Histoire du Parchemin, pp. 83—88. Classical Journal, No. xxiii. Wetstenii Proleg. ch. i. p. 8. Amstel. 1730, 4to.

(32) Johnson's Clergyman's Vade Mecum, I. p. 280. Wetstenii Proleg. ch. i. p. 8.

frequent use in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and that they were seldom applied to any other material than parchment or vellum, since he had only met with one instance in which the writing upon *Cotton Paper*, (Charta Bombycina,) had been effaced, that another work might be written in its stead, although the major part of the works on parchment, which he had seen, of the twelfth and subsequent centuries, were written upon parchment, from which some former work had been erased.[33]

By this barbarous operation religion and science were equally outraged, and the very words of God obliterated, to make way for such writings as have yielded but little to the instruction or amelioration of posterity. For as there are always persons to be found with whom gain is godliness, some of the wretched LIBRARII, or transcribers of books, scrupled not to efface even the Sacred Scriptures, in order to write more modern or more popular works upon the parchment which had contained them. Nor was the practice confined to the obliteration of the Sacred Records only, many classical works of high reputation were also sacrificed to gain or superstition. Thus in the place probably of some of the finest writers of antiquity, philosophers, poets, historians, and grammarians, we have missals, confessionals, monkish rhymes, and execrable and puerile legends. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the erasure of writing became so common, in Germany, that, fearing the use of *erased* parchment in public instruments might prove injurious to the public, efficacious measures were adopted to prevent this disorder. Accordingly the patents by which the emperors elevated persons to the dignity of Count, with power to promote imperial notaries, usually con-

(33) Montfaucon, Palæogr. Gr. Lib. iii. p. 231; and Lib. iv. p. 319. Memoires de l' Academie Royale des Inscriptions &c. *Dissertation sur la Papyrus*, VI. p. 606. Paris, 1729, 4to.

tained the following clause: "On condition that they shall not employ *old* and *erased* parchment, but that it shall be *virgin*, (i. e. made of abortive skins,) and quite new."[34]

These literary depredations were occasioned, as has been already intimated, by that extraordinary scarcity and dearness of materials for writing upon, which existed during several ages, in most parts of Europe. Great estates were often transferred from one owner to another, by a mere verbal agreement, and the delivery of earth and stone before witnesses, without any written deed. Parchment, on which nearly all their books were written, was so scarce, that about the year 1124, one master Hugh, being appointed by the convent of St. Edmundsbury, in Suffolk, to write and illuminate a grand copy of the BIBLE for their library, could procure no parchment for this purpose in England! And in the great Revenue-roll of John Gerveys, bishop of Winchester, A. D. 1226, there is an *item* of FIVE SHILLINGS, expended for parchment in one year; a considerable sum for such a commodity, at a period when wheat was only from two to three shillings a quarter, or eight bushels; and when within a few years afterwards in 1283, we find the following short entry in the annals of the priory of Dunstable; "This year, in the month of July, we sold our slave William Pyke, and received one mark" (thirteen shillings and four-pence) from the buyer."[35]

The scarcity and dearness of parchment were doubtless the causes of another abuse, that of *Abbreviations*. Under the pretext of rendering manuscripts less voluminous and consequently cheaper; of economising the time of those who were employed in transcribing; and lastly, for the purpose of comprising several volumes in one, abbreviations became so multiplied, especially in the mid-

(34) Peignot, Essai sur Parchemin, p. 86.

(35) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, IV. p. 81; VI. p. 306; and VIII. p. 340. 8vo.
Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry. Dissert. ii. On Learning,

dle ages, that it requires more than common ability to understand and read them. These abbreviations continued in use subsequent to the invention of printing. In Okam's *Logic*, printed at Paris, in 1488, in folio, the words are so abbreviated, as to be almost unintelligible. The following is a specimen: *Sic hic ẽ fal sm qd ad simplr a e pducibile a Deo g a e. et silr hic a n e g a n e pducible a Do.*—These abbreviations are meant for the following sentence: but who could understand them?—*Sicut hic est fallacia secundum quid ad simpliciter. A est producibile à Deo, ergo A est, et similiter hic: A nõn est, ergo A non est producibile à Deo.*

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, these abbreviations became so frequent and excessive, both in manuscripts and printed books, that it became necessary to procure works to explain them, and facilitate the reading of works thus abbreviated. Of this description, was a treatise by John Petit, entitled *Modus legendi abbreviaturas in utroque jure.* Paris, 1498, 8vo. and another printed at Cologne, in 1582, entitled *Modus legendi abbreviaturas passim in jur. tam civil. quam pontifical. occurrent.*[26] Buxtorf also published a useful work on *Hebrew* abbreviations, entitled "*De abbreviaturis Hebraicis. Franeq.* 1696, 12mo. Sertorius Ursatus's *Explanatio Notarum et Literarum &c.* Paris, 1723, 12mo. is a valuable little work on the *Latin* abbreviations. The *Palæographia Græca* is well known; and the various abbreviations and contractions of *Greek* words and letters which are found in inscriptions, MSS. and books, are beautifully engraved in Hodgkin's *Calligraphia Græca et Poecilographia Græca,* small folio, Lond. 1807. These plates are published in the *Classical Journal,* Nos. xvii. xviii. xix. xxi.

(26) Peignot, Essai sur Parchemin, pp. 89, 90.

CHAPTER V.

SEVENTH CENTURY.

Illiteracy of Ecclesiastics. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury. Paulicians. Caedmon. St. Cuthbert's Gospels. St. Chad's Gospels. Ina. Aidan. Aldhelm. Dagœus. Ultan. China.

THE proofs of illiterate barbarism which have been adduced in the former chapter, were only the commencements of that universal and profound ignorance which exercised its gloomy sway during the SEVENTH, and several subsequent centuries. Princes and prelates, clergy and laity, all felt its baneful influence. The eighth council of TOLEDO, in Spain, held about the year 653, found it necessary to forbid the ordination of any, who were not, at least, acquainted with the Psalms and hymns used in the services of the church, and with the ritual of baptism; and also to enjoin, that those who had been ordained already, but were, through ignorance, incapable of the duties of their office, should either voluntarily acquaint themselves with the services of the church, or be compelled to it by their superiors.[1] In a former synod, held at the same place, in 633, a canon had been made which declared; "Ignorance is the parent of error, and is therefore to be avoided, especially by the priests whose duty it is to minister to the people; agreeably to the admonition of St. Paul, who enjoins the frequent reading of the Scriptures."[2] Withred, king of Kent, in a charter whereby he granted lands to the church or convent of St. Mary, at Liminge in that county, A. D. 693,

(1) S. S. Concil. VI. Conc. Tolet. 8. p. 406.
(2) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. de Scripturis, p. 196.

acknowledges, that being illiterate (pro ignorantia literarum,) he had marked it with the *sign* of the holy cross.[3] Crosses, instead of seals, were used by the ecclesiastics, who introduced the practice of conveying property by written instruments, and this custom prevailed invariably till the conquest, and for near a century afterwards. Archbishops and bishops were frequently too illiterate to write their own names, and only made their *marks* to the acts of councils. Hence the phrase *signing*, for subscribing to a deed, is taken from persons making the *sign* of the cross, in place of their name, and proves how universal this practice must have been formerly. In the acts of the councils of EPHESUS, and CHALCEDON, many examples occur where subscriptions are to be found in this form: *I, such an one, have subscribed by the hand of such an one, because I cannot write.* And *such a bishop having said that he could not write, I whose name is under-written, have subscribed for him.*[4] A celebrated ecclesiastical historian[5] remarks, "Nothing can equal the ignorance and darkness that reigned in this century; the most impartial and accurate account of which will appear incredible, to those who are unacquainted with the productions of this barbarous period."

Towards the close of this century, the number of books was so inconsiderable, even in the Papal library at Rome, that Pope Martin requested Sanctamond, bishop of Maestricht, if possible to supply this defect from the remotest parts of Germany.[6] But nothing more completely proves the *scarcity of books* at this period, than the bargain which Benedict Biscop, a monk, and founder of the monastery of Weremouth, concluded a little before his death, A. D. 690, with Aldfred, king of Northumberland, by which the

(3) Antiquarian Repertory, II. pp. 131—133. Lond. 1779, 4to.
(4) Du Cange, Gloss. v. *Crux, Signum.*
(5) Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. II. p. 165.
(6) Warton's Hist. Eng. Poetry, I. Dissert. ii.

king agreed to give an estate of eight hides of land, or as much as eight ploughs could labour, which is said to have been 800 acres, for *one* volume on Cosmography, or the history of the world![7] This book was given, and the estate received, by Benedict's successor, the abbot Ceolfrid.

"Any remains of learning and philosophy that yet survived, were, a few particular cases excepted, to be found principally among the Latins, in the obscure retreats of cloistered monks. The monastic institutions prohibited the election of any abbot to the head of a convent, who was not a man of learning, or at least endowed with a tolerable measure of the erudition of the times. The monks were obliged to consecrate certain hours every day to reading and study: and, that they might improve this appointment to the most advantageous purposes, there were, in most of the monasteries, stated times marked out, at which they were to assemble, in order to communicate to each other the fruits of their study, and to discuss the matters upon which they had been reading. The youth also, who were destined for the service of the church, were obliged to prepare themselves for their ministry, by a diligent application to study; and in this they were directed by the monks, one of whose principal occupations it was to preside over the education of the rising priesthood. It must, however, be acknowledged, that all these institutions were of little use to the advancement of solid learning, or of rational theology, because very few in these days were acquainted with the true nature of the liberal arts and sciences, or with the important ends which they were adapted to serve."[8]

ENGLAND, it is true, was happier in this respect than the other nations of *Europe*. This was principally owing to THEODORE, archbishop of Canterbury. A native of

(7) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, IV. B. ii. ch. iv. p. 20. Russell's Hist. of Modern Europe, I. Let. 12. p. 102.
(8) Mosheim, *ubi sup.*

Tarsus in Cilicia, a monk of Rome, and originally a Greek priest, he had been consecrated archbishop, and sent into England, by Pope Vitalian, in 668. He was skilled in the metrical art, astronomy, arithmetic, church-music, and the Greek and Latin languages; and brought with him what was then called and esteemed a large library, consisting of COPIES OF THE SCRIPTURES, and many Greek and Latin books; among which were *Homer*, in a large volume, written on paper with most exquisite elegance; the *Homilies of Chrysostom*, on parchment; the PSALTER, and *Josephus's Hypomnesticon*, all in Greek. He was accompanied into England by ADRIAN, a Neapolitan monk, and a native of Africa, learned in the Holy Scriptures, versed in monastic and ecclesiastical discipline, and excellently skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues; who having declined the honour of the ecclesiastical primacy, in favour of his friend Theodore, had been appointed by the pope to the abbacy of St. Austin's, at Canterbury. They were both escorted from Rome, by BENEDICT BISCOP, a Saxon youth, a native of Northumberland. Theodore, in conjunction with Adrian, expounded the Scriptures publicly, endeavoured to excite a taste for letters, by delivering lectures to the most crowded audiences his exertions could procure; and established schools in most parts of England. These honourable labours produced the most pleasing effects, and it is recorded by Bede, that when he himself wrote, individuals were found amongst the scholars of those learned masters, to whom the Latin and Greek languages were as familiar as their native tongue. To account for the possibility of an African delivering lectures to an English or Saxon audience, it should be remembered that Latin was the common language of all the ecclesiastics of the Romish church;—that Benedict Biscop had not only acted as interpreter, but as teacher of the Saxon;—and that the principal hearers of Theodore were persons engaged

in ecclesiastical offices, or educating for them.[9] "To his (Theodore's) memory," says a modern writer, "we owe respect and gratitude; he brought into our island a most invaluable library of Greek* and Latin books, *with several copies of the Scriptures*, which happily survived the wreck of ages; *he planted amongst us the language of the Gospels*, and sowed those seeds both of divine and human learning, which, under the blessing of Providence, have grown and flourished in our country, have exalted our religion, and consequently our morality, expanded our minds, embellished them with science, and added to our physical enjoyments the comforts of the arts. Those who unfortunately cannot relish the animated pious effusions of Chrysostom, (which, however, would have equally served religion and virtue, had they been less severe upon women,) may at least respect the man who brought the επεα πτεροεντα of Homer to our shores."[10]

On the return of Benedict Biscop to Northumberland, he founded the monastery of Weremouth. For the erection of the church he procured workmen from France, who constructed it of *stone*, after the Roman fashion; for before that time *stone buildings* were very rare in Britain; even the church of Lindisfarne was of *wood*, and covered with a thatch of straw and reeds, till Bishop Eadbert procured both the roof and the walls to be covered with sheet lead. Benedict also brought over *glaziers* from France, the art of glass-making being then unknown in Britain. The walls and roof of the church he adorned with pictures, which he purchased at Rome, representing the Virgin Mary, the Twelve Apostles, the Gospel History,

(9) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv, ch. xxi.
Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. Diss. 2.
Cavei Hist. Litt. p. 464.

* "The copies of Homer, David's Psalms, and Chrysostom's Homilies, brought by Theodore, were still extant at the beginning of the last century."

(10) Storer's Cathedrals of Great Britain, Canterbury, A. D. 690.

and the Visions of the Apocalypse. He afterwards added a noble library of rare Greek and Latin works.[11]

Whilst Theodore held the archiepiscopal dignity, a council was summoned at Rome, respecting the ecclesiastical affairs of Britain. In this council it was decreed; that "Bishops, and all whosoever profess the religious life of the ecclesiastical order, shall not use weapons, nor keep musicians of the female sex, nor any musical concerts whatsoever, nor allow of any buffooneries, or plays in their presence. For the discipline of the holy church permits not her faithful priests to use any of these things, but charges them to be employed in divine offices, in making provisions for the poor, and for the benefit of the church; *especially let lessons out of the Divine Oracles be always read*, for the edification of the churches, that the minds of the hearers may be fed with the Divine Word, even at the very time of their bodily repast."[12]— From the same records we learn, that it was the practice on holding a council, to place a *Copy of the Sacred Gospels* in open view, in the church where the council was held, during its deliberations; with the intention, most certainly, to intimate that all their decisions ought to be according to the Word of God.

But though the Scriptures were thus enjoined to be read in the WEST, a singular circumstance which occurred during this century, and ultimately gave rise to the sect of the PAULICIANS, gives us reason to believe that they were already forbidden to the laity, in the EAST; and proves the extreme rarity of copies of the Sacred Writings. A Syrian deacon, returning from captivity, to his native country, passed through Mananalis, an obscure town in the neighbourhood of Samosata. Here he was entertained for some days by an hospitable but indigent Armenian,

(11) Bedæ, Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. cap. xxv.
Warton, *ut sup.*
(12) Johnson's Collection of Eccl. Laws, &c. A. D. DCLXXIX.

whose name was Constantine. On leaving the place, the deacon, as a recompense for Constantine's generosity, presented him with *two* manuscripts, which he had brought with him from Syria, containing the GOSPELS, and the EPISTLES of St. PAUL. Constantine was overjoyed with the present he had received, and resolved to study only the Gospels and the Epistles, to the exclusion of every other work; and from this attachment to the Writings of St. Paul, he and those who followed his example, were denominated PAULICIANS. This was about the year 653. The narrator of these facts is Petrus Siculus, who was sent from Rome to the Paulicians in Armenia, in 870, by the Emperor Basil the Great, to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners. The intemperate language which he adopts on this occasion, sufficiently discovers that, in his opinion, the Scriptures ought to be withheld from the laity, and not be left to their indiscriminate perusal and interpretation. He considers the resolution of Constantine as being formed by the instigation of the devil (dæmone instigante); and his conduct as pregnant with the direst ills. The relation which he has given of the way in which the Paulicians spread their opinions, is too curious to be omitted. SERGIUS, the great and active promoter of their cause, became a convert to their doctrines, as Petrus Siculus informs us, through the reasoning and conversation of a female. "I hear, Sergius," said this advocate for the Paulician doctrines, "that you excel in literature and knowledge; and that you are a good man in every respect. Tell me, therefore, why you do not read the Holy Gospels?" The unsuspicious youth replied: "*It is not lawful for us profane persons to read them; but for the priests only.*" "You are mistaken," said she, "for there is no respect of persons with God who will have all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. But your priests, because they adulterate the Word of God, and hide the mysteries contained in the Gospels,

do not read to you the whole of the Scriptures, but only some parts, and omit others, lest you should come to the knowledge of the truth. For in them (Mat. vii.) it is written; "Many shall say, Lord, Lord, have we not cast out devils in thy name, and in thy name done many wonderful works? But the King shall profess unto them, "I never knew ye." Search and see whether it be not thus written. And who are they, think you, to whom the Lord will say, "I never knew ye?" Sergius hesitating to reply, the woman proceeded: "To us there is no great difficulty, in explaining the words of the Gospel. There are persons in the present day, who honour the Christian life, and appear to live piously, and by certain incantations cast out devils, and cure diseases, and are called exorcists. Like some we read of in the Acts of the Apostles, they adjure those who are possessed with devils, by Christ whom Paul preached, "Depart out of these men," and at the hearing of the name of Christ, the devils flee, filled with terror." In the same way, the female Paulician continued to quote the Scriptures, and affix her own sense to them, till she had so far prevailed upon Sergius, that he determined to examine the Scriptures for himself. Having examined them, he became one of the most zealous promoters of the Paulician sentiments; and like the other principal teachers who adopted names from the New Testament, he assumed that of *Tychicus*. The *text* of the Scriptures, made use of by the Paulicians, was by the confession of their enemies allowed to be genuine and uncorrupted, and their doctrines consequently deduced from the *pure* Word of God.[13] With some shew of probability, it has been supposed, that the *Waldenses* derive their origin from these ancient defenders of the Truth.

Returning to our Saxon ancestors, we find proofs still remaining of their attachment to those Scriptures, which were thus early, in the East, concealed from the eyes of

(13) Maxima Biblioth. Vet. Patrum. XVI. pp. 759. 761. 762.

the vulgar. Such are, for instance, the fragments of *Caedmon's poetical Paraphrases of the books of* GENESIS *and* DANIEL; and the magnificent copies of ST. CUTHBERT's and St. CHAD's Gospels.

CAEDMON, a pious monk of Streaneshalch, or Whitby, in the *seventh century*, employed his poetical genius in the composition of a paraphrastical and metrical version of some of the most remarkable portions of Sacred History. It is the earliest specimen of Saxon poetry, and was published by Junius, at Amsterdam, 1665, 4to. It opens with the fall of angels and the creation of the world; and proceeds to the history of the first parents of mankind; of the deluge; of the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, and their entrance into the land of promise. It recounts, also, some of the actions of Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel. It abounds with periphrasis and metaphor, the earliest figures, and the universal characteristics, of ancient poetry.[14]

The following fragment, on the first verse of the book of Genesis, is preserved in Alfred's Saxon translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. It is made on waking in a stall of oxen, which he had been appointed to guard during the night.

Now we should praise	Nu we sceolan herigean
The Guardian of the heavenly kingdom;	Heafon rices weard;
The mighty Creator,	Metodes mihte
And the thoughts of his mind,	And his mod gethane
Glorious Father of his works!	Weorc wuldor fæder
As he, of every glory	Swa he wuldres gehwaes
Eternal Lord!	Ece drihten
Established the beginning;	Ord onstealde;
So he first shaped	He ærest gescop
The earth for the children of men,	Eorthan bearnum,
And the heav'ns for its canopy.	Heofen to rofe
Holy Creator!	Halig scyppend!
The middle region,	Tha middan geard,

(14) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv. cap. xxiv.
Baber's Saxon and English Versions, prefixed to his edition of Wiclif's New Testament. Lond. 1810, 4to.

The Guardian of mankind,	Mon cynnes weard,
The Eternal Lord,	Ece drihtne!
Afterwards made	Æfter teode
The ground for men,	Firum foldan
Almighty Ruler![15]	Frea almihtig!

Translations from other parts of Caedmon's Paraphrase, as published by Junius, are given in Sharon Turner's valuable *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. II. B. xii. ch. i. pp. 309—316. Caedmon died in 680.

The TEXTUS SANCTI CUTHBERTI, or *St. Cuthbert's Gospels*, generally called the DURHAM BOOK, is a copy of the FOUR GOSPELS in Latin, written about A. D. 680, in the time of St. Cuthbert, by EGBERT or EADFRID, a monk of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, with great care and labour. Eadfrid succeeded Cuthbert in the bishopric of Landisfarne, in 687; and was himself succeeded, in 721, by ETHELWOLD, who held the see till his death, in 737. The Latin text is of extraordinary fine penmanship, in round Roman characters. The letters are in a high state of preservation, the ink shining black as ebony. Ethelwold ornamented the MS. at his own cost, with golden bosses and precious stones; and with the assistance of BILFRID, an anchoret, decorated it with illuminations of the most intricate and elaborate workmanship. "To give additional value to this venerated monument of British antiquity, to propagate the divine truths contained in its pages, written in an unknown language to the natives of the country, in the vulgar tongue, and to incorporate homely useful knowledge with splendid decorations and Latin literature,"[15] ALDRED, a priest, added an interlinear SAXON version, about the time of Alfred; which is the finest specimen of Saxon calligraphy and decoration extant. Mr. Henshall, who published Aldred's translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, says, that the Gospels were originally in separate volumes, and that St. Matthew's Gospel was peculi-

(15) Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, II. p. 278. 4to. 1807.

arly appropriated by the writer to St. Cuthbert's minster; St. Mark's to the bishop of the island; St. Luke's to the holy fraternity resident in the island; and St. John's to God, and St. Cuthbert, for his future salvation.

These Gospels were at first deposited in the episcopal church of Lindisfarne; but when this religious edifice was ruined by the predatory Danes, in 793, the monks were obliged to leave their abode in the holy island, and to seek for another asylum. In their passage to the Northumberland coast, this book of the Gospels, which they had borne away as their most revered treasure, fell into the sea. Some historians relate, that it was three days in the water; others say, that the tide ebbing much farther than usual, it was found upon the sands three miles from the shore. After its recovery, it was deposited in a monastery at Chester, where it remained, till the monks were again obliged by the Danes to emigrate. In the year 995, they settled at Durham. The recovery of this volume from the destruction with which it had been threatened by the devouring deep, was an event, from which the monks of Durham derived considerable emoluments. They pretended that this book was endowed with miraculous powers, and imposed upon the ignorant and credulous with great success. It is now preserved among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum. The ornaments of this book which now remain, (for of its gold and precious stones it has been long since plundered) are, pictures of the Evangelists prefixed to their respective Gospels; many capital letters beautifully illuminated; and four tessellated tablets, each most laboriously executed, and containing a fanciful design of the cross, painted with a rich variety of brilliant body colours. The pictures of the Evangelists are to be seen engraved in Strutt's *Horda Angel Cynnan*, vol. III. and there is a fac-simile of an illuminated capital letter in Astle's *Origin and Progress of Writing*. The interlineatory version by Aldred, is in red

ink, but in some places a little faded.[16]

A *Latin* copy of St. JOHN'S GOSPEL, which St. Cuthbert was in the habit of reading, was put into his coffin when he was buried, and was afterwards found in his tomb. It was said to be not long ago in the possession of Mr. Thomas Philips, canon of Tongres, to whom it was presented by the Earl of Litchfield; and to have been pronounced genuine by the ablest protestant antiquarians.[17]

The TEXTUS SANCTI CEDDÆ, or *St. Chad's Gospel*, is a fine MS. of the Latin Gospels, preserved in the church of Litchfield. It was many years ago presented to the church of Llandaff, by Gelhi, who gave for the purchase of it, one of his best horses; and about the year 1020, being deposited in the cathedral church of Litchfield, was dedicated to St. Chad, the fifth bishop of that see, the book has thence been called by his name. This MS. was written in England about the time of St. Cuthbert's Gospels in the *seventh* century, in (what Astle calls) the *Roman Saxon* character. In the margin of it are several annotations in Latin and Saxon, and some in the ancient British and Welsh, which last Mr. Edwards Lhuyd supposes to be of about 900 years standing. A facsimile of the writing of this MS. is given in Astle's *Origin and Progress of Writing*.[18]

The immense donation of Ina, King of the West Saxons, to the church of Glastonbury, deserves also to be mentioned, as affording a proof of the veneration for the Holy Gospels. He caused a chapel, or case modelled in the form of a chapel, to be formed of silver and gold, with ornaments and vases equally gold and silver; and placed it within the great church of Glastonbury, delivering two

(16) Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, pp. 100, 101. fol.
Henshall's Gothic Gospel, pp. 53—63.
Baber's Historical Account of Saxon and Eng. Versions, prefixed to Wiclif's N. T. 1810, 4to.

(17) Butler's Lives, II. Feb. 23, p. 221; and III. March 20, p. 228.

(18) Astle, *ut sup.*

thousand six hundred and forty pounds of silver for forming the chapel; for the altar he gave two hundred and sixty four pounds of gold; for the chalice and paten, ten pounds of gold; for the censer, eight and twenty mancuses of gold; for the candlesticks, twelve pounds and a half of silver; for the COVERINGS of the BOOKS of the GOSPELS, twenty pounds and sixty mancuses of gold; for the water vessels and other vases of the altar, seventeen pounds of gold; for the basins for the offertory, eight pounds of gold; for the vessels for the holy-water, twenty pounds of silver; for images of our Lord, and the Virgin Mary, and the twelve Apostles, a hundred and seventy-five pounds of silver, and thirty-eight pounds of gold, the twelve Apostles being in silver, but our Lord and the Virgin Mary in gold; the pall for the altar, and the vestments for the priests were also artfully interwoven on both sides with gold and precious stones.[19]

AIDAN, and ALDHELM, flourished also during the *seventh* century, and enlightened the nation by their pious labours. AIDAN was a native of Ireland, and a monk of Iona; and on account of his extraordinary mildness, was appointed missionary to Northumberland, where Oswald then reigned, who had requested that the Irish sovereign and bishops would send him a bishop and assistants, by whose means his subjects might be confirmed in the Christian Religion. Oswald bestowed on Aidan the isle of Lindisfarne for his episcopal seat; and was so edified by his learning and zeal, that before the bishop could successfully speak the English language, he acted as his interpreter, and explained his sermons and instructions to the people. In his ministerial labours Aidan was indefatigable, travelling on foot through the rudest and most uncultivated parts of his newly-formed diocese; constantly aiming to communicate instruction, both to the rich and poor, to the Christian and infidel. He was particularly studious in the

(19) Whitaker's Cathedral of Cornwall, II. pp. 291, 292.

Scriptures, and not only read them himself, but obliged those who travelled or associated with him, to spend their time either in *reading the Scriptures* or *learning the Psalter by heart*. He rarely would go to the king's table, and never without taking with him one or two of his clergy; and always after a short repast made haste away to read, or to pray in the church, or in his cell. He died on the 31st of August, A. D. 651.[20]

ADHELM, or ALDHELM, was born among the West Saxons, and was a near relation of King Ina, but educated under Adrian, at Canterbury. In 675, Maidulf resigned to him the abbey of Maidulfsbury, or corruptly Malmsbury, in Wiltshire. By his means, this abbey was rendered one of the most famous in England, and numerous donations and privileges were granted to it by the pope, and various kings and princes. After having held the abbacy for about 30 years, he was chosen the first bishop of Sherborn, in Dorsetshire. But this dignity he did not long possess, for he died in the fifth year of his episcopacy, whilst in the visitation of his diocese, at Dullinge, in Somersetshire, on the 25th of May, 709.[21]

This excellent bishop was one of the most learned men, and best poets, of the age in which he lived. Under Maidulf, or Maildulf, who founded the abbey of Malmsbury, and supported himself by teaching scholars, he became thoroughly versed in Greek and Latin; and was the first of the English nation who wrote in Latin. In a letter to his old preceptor, he expresses his love of study, and mentions the objects to which his attention was directed; among these we find the Roman jurisprudence, the metres of Latin poetry, arithmetic, and astronomy. His learning and poetic powers he devoted to the most benevolent and pious purposes. Before his advancement to

(20) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. cap. iii. v.
Butler's Lives of the Saints, VIII. Aug. 31. pp. 569, 570.
(21) Ibid. V. pp. 329, 330.

the bishopric, and whilst abbot of Malmsbury, he employed his poetic genius in a singular manner, for the instruction of the people. Observing his barbarous countrymen to be inattentive to grave instructions, and to run home immediately after the singing of mass he composed a number of little poems, *ingeniously interspersed with passages of Scripture;* and having an excellent voice, and great skill in music, frequently placed himself upon a bridge that joined the town and country, and professing himself skilled in singing, stopped the passengers, whilst he sang his poems in the sweetest manner. By this means he gained the favour of the populace, who flocked about him, and by so specious a mode of instruction were brought to a sense of duty, and a knowledge of religious subjects.

Towards the close of life he translated the PSALTER into *Saxon;* and in his book *De Virginitate,* praises the nuns to whom he wrote, for their industry and attention in daily reading and studying the Holy Scriptures; a practice highly deserving commendation at all times, but particularly so at this period. For "to a nation whose minds were so untutored in knowledge, as the Anglo-Saxons, the Jewish and Christian Scriptures must have been invaluable accessions. From these they would learn the most rational chronology of the earth, the most correct history of the early states of the East, the most intelligent piety, the wisest morality, and every style of literary composition. Perhaps no other collection of human writings can be selected, which would so much interest and benefit a rude and ignorant people. We shall feel all their value and importance to our ancestors, if we compare them with the Edda, in which the happiest efforts of the northern genius are deposited."[22] Aldhelm's translation of the *Psalms,* was probably lost or destroyed, through the incursions of the Danes.

(22) Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, B. xii. p. 360.

This great and good man was not satisfied with only personally promoting the knowledge of the Scriptures, he endeavoured to engage others in the same blessed work. The copy of a letter is still extant, which he wrote to Ehfrid or Eadfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne, with this design. It is a curious specimen of Aldhelm's epistolary style; and of the barbarous and monkish Latin then in use. As a *poet*, king Alfred the Great declared Aldhelm to be the best of all the Saxons, and notices one of his pieces as being universally sung in his time, near two hundred years after the decease of its author. His poetical works which remain are: *De Laude Virginum, De Octo principalibus Vitiis*, and *Ænigmata*.

The principal *prose* work of Aldhelm is his treatise in *praise of Virginity*. A beautiful illuminated copy of this work is preserved in the archiepiscopal library, at Lambeth-Palace. In the catalogue of this library, published in 1812, fol. by the Rev. H. J. Todd, a fac-simile is given of the first leaf, of this MS. supposed to be, according to Mr. Todd, of the *eighth*, or according to Mr. Dibdin, of the *tenth* or *eleventh* century, representing Aldhelm seated in a chair, with a group of virgins standing round him, as if approving of his work. Mr. Astle, in his *Origin and Progress of Writing*, p. 71, has given also a specimen of the characters in which it is written. This singular treatise contains a profusion of epithets, paraphrases, and repetitions, conveyed in long and intricate periods. But in an age of general ignorance, his diction pleased and informed by its magnificent exuberance. His imagery was valued for its minuteness, because, although usually unnecessary to its subject, yet as these long details contained considerable information for an uncultivated mind, and sometimes presented pictures, which if considered by themselves, are not uninteresting, it was read with curiosity, and praised with enthusiasm. "It is, however, just to his memory to say, that he was a man of genius, though of wild and un-

cultivated taste. His mind was as exuberant of imagery, as Jeremy Taylor's. Many of his allusions, though fanciful, are apposite, and some are elegant and vigorous, both in the conception, and the expression.[23]"

DAGÆUS and ULTAN, two Irish monks, deserve also to be mentioned. DAGÆUS flourished in the early part of the *sixth* century, and died in 587. He was abbot of Inniskilling, (Inisceltraensis) and an eminent calligraphist; and not only wrote many books with his own hand, but also manufactured and ornamented bindings in gold, silver, and precious stones. ULTAN was the first bishop of Ardbraccan, in Meath, in Ireland. Amongst his virtues, his charity has been particularly mentioned. Ethelwolf, in a metrical epistle to Egbert, at that time resident in Ireland, with a view of collecting MSS. extols him for his talent in adorning books; Leland also (Collect. Vol. II. p. 364,) designates him as a first-rate calligraphist and illuminator; and Harpsfield says, he used to transcribe the *Holy Scriptures* in the most beautiful manner.[24] He died in 656.

Such were the worthies, who rose like stars in our hemisphere, and beamed their rays across the gloom, at a time when ignorance and barbarism so universally reigned, that in Britain, the fair sex were treated with indignity, and our ancestors bought their wives, as they purchased their cattle; parents exported their children to be sold for slaves; and men were yoked in teams like oxen![25] But from such recollections we turn to the more pleasing subject of the introduction of the Scriptures into the immense empire of China.

From a curious monument discovered at Sighan-fu, in the province of Xen-si, in 1625, we learn, that under the

(23) Turner's Anglo-Saxons, II. B. xii. pp. 367, 368.
Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, I. p. lii. *Note.*
(24) Ibid, I. p. cxxi. *Note.* Butler's Lives, IX. p. 39.
(25) Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, A. D. DCII.
Turner's Anglo-Saxons, II. B. viii. ch. ix. pp. 99, 100.

reign of the Emperor THAI-ÇUM, about the year 637, a Christian missionary named OLOPEN visited the imperial residence at Cham-ghan, or Si-ghan-fu. The emperor hearing of his arrival, sent his prime minister, and other noblemen of his court, to meet him, and after discoursing with him on the object of his mission, to conduct him to the palace. The result of his interview with the emperor was important; Fam-hiven-lim, the prime minister, one of the most learned men in the empire, was ordered to translate the *Scriptures*, brought by Olopen, into the Chinese language, and the doctrines of the Gospel were permitted to be divulged and preached.[26] Succeeding emperors, alas! pursued a different conduct; the Bonzes or pagan priests raised violent persecutions; the Scriptures in the vernacular language were ultimately destroyed or lost, and for many ages that vast empire remained without a complete copy of the Bible, and almost without the smallest portion of the Sacred Writings in the Chinese tongue. Two separate translations have, however, lately been completed of the whole of the *New Testament*, into this most difficult language; the one at Serampore, by Dr. JOSHUA MARSHMAN, a Baptist missionary, the other at Canton, by Dr. ROBERT MORRISON, a missionary sent out by the London Missionary Society. They are now proceeding with the translation of the Old Testament, notwithstanding the imperial edicts forbidding them to be read by the natives of China.

(26) D' Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, Supp. p. 165. fol. 1780. Marsh's Michaelis, IV. p. 447.
Gibbon's D. & F. of the Rom. Emp. VIII. ch. xlvii. p. 345. *Note*.
Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. II. pp. 151, 152.

CHAPTER VI.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

Arabic Version. Venerable Bede. Willibrord. Boniface. Churches of Wood. Willehad. Alcuin. Illiteracy. Military Ecclesiastics. Canons of Councils. Scriptures in Saxon characters. Egbert's Library. Instruction of children.

EARLY in the EIGHTH CENTURY, the Scriptures were translated into ARABIC. The conquests of the Saracens, or Moors, had rendered the Arabic common in Spain; and JOHN, archbishop of Seville, desirous that the people should read and understand the Holy Scriptures, undertook a translation of them into that tongue, which he completed about A. D. 717.[1] Betwixt this and the version of Saadias Gaon, in the tenth century, other translations probably were made, but their exact date is not ascertainable. "If a conjecture is allowable," says Dr. Marsh, "on a subject where history leaves us in the dark, we may suppose that most of the Arabic versions were made during the period that elapsed between the conquests of the Saracens in the seventh century, and the Crusades in the eleventh; especially about the middle of this period, when the Syriac and the Coptic, though they had ceased to be living languages, were still understood by men of education; and Arabic literature, under the patronage of Al Mamon, and his successors, had arrived at its highest pitch."[2]

The Arabic version found in the Tritaglot Pentateuch, preserved in the Barberini collection at Rome, is proba-

(1) Basnage, Hist. de l' Eglise, I. Liv. ix. cap. iv. p. 471. fol. Brerewood's Enquiries touching the Diversity of Languages, p. 237.
(2) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt, ii. p. 600.

bly one of the oldest now extant. J. J. Bjornstahl has described this very valuable MS. in a letter subjoined to Fabricy's *Titres Primitifs*, tom. i. and a specimen of the Version has been presented to the public by And. Christ. Hwiid, in a small work entitled, *Specimen ineditæ versionis Arabico Samaritanæ Pentateuchi e codice manuscripto Bibliothecæ Barberinæ. Romæ.* MDCCLXXX.

From these it appears that this important MS. was purchased at Damascus, in 1631, for Nicholas Fabricius Peiresc, by whom it was bequeathed to Cardinal Barberini, nephew to Pope Urban VIII. It was transcribed at Damascus in 1227, for the use of the public synagogue of the Samaritans in that city. It is written on parchment, and forms one volume in large folio. Each page is divided into three collateral columns. The Hebræo-Samaritan occupies the column on the right, the Arabic version is in the middle, and the Samaritan version on the left. The Arabic version is made from the Hebræo-Samaritan text, to which it exactly corresponds, sentence for sentence, line for line, and as nearly as possible, word for word. Both the versions, as well as the Hebræo-Samaritan text, are in the Samaritan character. The specimen adduced is the 49th chapter of Genesis.

A translation of the GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN into ANGLO-SAXON, was made also in the eighth century, by the *Venerable* BEDE.

BEDA, or BEDE, the great ornament of his age and country, was born in 673. At the close of his "Ecclesiastical History," he gives the following simple, unaffected narrative of his life. "Born in the territory of the same monastery," (of Weremouth, in the kingdom of Northumberland,) "I was, by the care of my relations, committed at seven years of age to the reverend abbot Benedict, (Biscop) in order to be educated; and afterwards to Ceolfrid. From that period I have resided constantly in this monastery, and have applied myself wholly to the study

of the Holy Scriptures; and in the intervals of the observance of regular discipline, and the daily care of singing in the church, have always found it sweet, to be either learning, or teaching, or writing. 'In the nineteenth year of my life, I received the order of deacon, and in my thirtieth, that of priest, both by the ministry of the most reverend bishop John," (of Beverley, bishop of Hexham,) and the command of abbot Ceolfrid. From the time of my receiving the office of priest to the fifty-ninth year of my age, I have been engaged in either briefly noting from the works of the venerable fathers, for the necessities of me and mine, these things* on the Scriptures, or in adding some new comment to their sense and interpretation."

It has been justly remarked, that, "he never knew what it was to do nothing. He wrote on all the branches of knowledge then cultivated in Europe. In Greek and Hebrew he had a skill very uncommon in that barbarous age; and by his instructions and example he raised up many scholars." A year before his death, he wrote a letter to Ecgbright, or Egbert, archbishop of York, which deserves to be noticed for the solid sense it exhibits, and the information it conveys. The following are extracts from it:

"Above all things avoid useless discourse, and apply yourselves to the study of the *Holy Scriptures*, especially the Epistles to Timothy and Titus; to Gregory's Pastoral Care, and his Homilies on the Gospel. It is indecent for him who is dedicated to the service of the church, to give way to actions or discourse unsuitable to his character. Have always those about you, who may assist you in temptation; be not like some bishops, who love to have those about them that love good cheer, and divert them with trifling and facetious conversation."

"Your diocese is too large to allow you to go through

* Alluding to the catalogue of writings which he subjoined to this narrative.

the whole in a year; therefore appoint presbyters in each village, to instruct and administer the sacraments; and let them be studious, that every one of them may learn by heart, *the Creed and the Lord's Prayer;* and that, if they do not understand Latin, they may repeat them in their own tongue. *I have translated them into English,* for the benefit of ignorant presbyters. I am told there are many villages in our nation, in the mountainous parts, the inhabitants of which have never seen a bishop, or a pastor; and yet they are obliged to pay their dues to the bishop."[3]

The high opinion which Bede entertained of a faithful minister of the Gospel, is discoverable in his life of St. Cuthbert, written in hexameter verse; it begins thus:

Multa suis Dominus fulgescere lumina seclis
Donavit, tetricas humanæ noctis ut umbras
Lustraret divina poli de culmine flamma.
Et licet ipse deo natus de lumine Christus
Lux sit summa, Deus sanctos quoque jure lucernæ
Ecclesiæ rutilare dedit, quibus igne magistro
Sensibus instet amor, sermonibus æstuat ardor
Multifidos varium lychnos qui sparsit in orbem.
Ut cunctum nova lux fidei face fusa sub axem
Omnia sidereis virtutibus arva repleret.

That many lights should shine in every age,
T' illume the loathsome shades of human night
With his celestial flame, the Lord permits:
And though our light supreme is Christ divine,
Yet God has sent his saints with humbler rays
To burn within his church. With sacred fire,
Love fills their minds, and zeal inflames their speech.
He spreads his numerous torches through the world,
That the new rays of burning faith diffus'd
With starry virtues, every land may fill.[4]

Bede died in the year 735, and the circumstances of his death are thus described by his pupil Cuthbert, afterwards abbot of Jarrow:

"About two weeks before Easter, he began to be much troubled with shortness of breath, yet without pain: and thus continued, cheerful and rejoicing, giving thanks to Al-

(3) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, III. pp. 134. 139.
(4) Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, II. B. xii. c. iii. p. 347.

mighty God day and night, nay even every hour, till the day of our Lord's ascension. He daily read lessons to us his scholars: the rest of the day he spent in singing psalms. The nights he passed without sleep, yet rejoicing and giving thanks, unless when a little slumber intervened. When he awoke he resumed his accustomed devotions, and with expanded hands, never ceased returning thanks to God. Indeed, I never saw with my eyes, nor heard with my ears, any one so diligent in his grateful devotions. O truly blessed man! He sang that sentence of St Paul: 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God;' and many other things from the Scripture, in which he admonished us to arouse ourselves from the sleep of the mind. He also recited something in our English language, for he was very learned in our songs; and putting his thoughts into English verse, he repeated it with much feeling. For this necessary journey no one can be more prudent than he ought to be, to think before his going hence what of good or evil his spirit after death will be judged worthy of. He also sang anthems, according to his and our custom; one of which is 'O glorious King, Lord of hosts, who triumphing this day didst ascend above all the heavens, leave us not orphans; but send the promise of the Father, the Spirit of Truth upon us. Alleluia.' When he came to the words *leave us not*, he burst into tears, and wept much. By turns we read, and by turns we wept; indeed, we always read in tears. In such solemn joy we passed the fifty days. But during these days, besides the daily lessons which he gave, and the singing of Psalms, he endeavoured to compose two works. The one was a *translation of St. John's Gospel into English*, as far as where it is said, *'But what are these among so many;'* the other some collection out of St. Isidore's book of Notes. On Tuesday before ascension-day, his breathing began to be very strongly affected, and a little swelling appeared in his feet. All that day he dic-

tated cheerfully, and sometimes said, 'Make haste, I know not how long I shall hold out; My Maker may take me away very soon.' It seemed to us he knew well he was near his end. He passed the night awake in thanksgiving. On Wednesday morning he ordered us to write speedily what we had begun. This being done we walked till the third hour, with the relics of the saints, as the custom of the day required. Then one of us said to him, 'Most dear master, there is yet one chapter wanting. Do you think it troublesome to be asked any more questions?' he answered, 'It is no trouble, take your pen, and write fast:' He did so. But at the ninth hour he said to me, 'I have some valuables in my little chest. Run quickly, and bring all the priests of the monastery to me.' When they came, he distributed his small presents to them, and exhorted each of them to attend to their masses and prayers. They all wept when he told them, they would see him no more; but rejoiced to hear him say, 'It is now time for me to return to him who made me. The time of my dissolution draws near. I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. Yes, my soul desires to see Christ, my King, in his beauty.' In this manner he continued to converse cheerfully till the evening, when the pupil mentioned before, said to him, 'Dear master, one sentence is still wanting.' He replied, 'Write quickly'. The young man said, 'It is finished.' He answered, 'Thou hast well said, all is now finished. Hold my head with thy hands, for I shall delight to sit at the opposite side of the room, on the holy spot at which I have been accustomed to pray, and where, whilst sitting, I can invoke my Father.' When he was placed on the pavement of his little place, he sang, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,' and expired as he uttered the last words.[5] Such was the happy, the glorious conclusion of life to this

(5) Cuthberti Epist. in Bed. Hist. a Smith, pp. 793, 794. Butler's Lives of the Saints, V. May 27.

first of scholars! "He was called the *wise Saxon* by his cotemporaries," says Dr. Henry, "and *Venerable Beda* by his posterity; and as long as great modesty, piety, and learning, united in one character, are the objects of veneration amongst mankind, the memory of Beda must be revered."[6]

The *Study*, or *Oratory*, of this illustrious presbyter, which appears to have been in a building erected for the purpose, and detached from the monastery, was long preserved from destruction. Simeon, the historical monk of Durham, who flourished in 1164, and Leland, who lived in the sixteenth century, both speak of it as remaining in their time. "Even the place," says Simeon, "is shewn at this day where he had his little mansion of stone, and, free from all disturbance, was accustomed to sit, to meditate, to read, to dictate, and to write." And Leland remarks, "The oratory of Bede is still remaining entire, a building low in its pitch, small in its size, and vaulted in its roof; having an altar within it, but neglected, yet bearing in the middle of its front, a piece of serpentine marble, a marble of a dusky green in the ground, and of a lively green in the spots, inlaid into the substance of it." This, therefore, was the altar at which Bede, equally devout and learned, happily sensible amidst all his learning that he derived his intellect, and the illumination of it, from the awful "Father of Lights," kneeled down at his private devotions; and to which he was carried in his dying moments, and where, resting upon a rug, he prayed, and died in the act of prayer. The very *Chair* too, a rude oaken one, in which he used to sit, is still kept, carefully locked up in the vestry of the old monastic chapel, converted into a parish church, but recently rebuilt.[7] A copy of some of *St. Paul's Epistles* in the hand-writing of Bede, is also said to be preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.[8]

(6) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, IV. p. 30.
(7) Whitaker's Cathedral of Cornwall, II. ch. vii, pp. 338—340.
(8) Hickesii Thesaurus, II, p. 241.

Several other eminent men, chiefly Englishmen, distinguished for their zeal and love of the Scriptures, flourished about the same period as Bede.

Willibrord, the *Apostle of Friesland*, was born in the kingdom of Northumberland, about the year 658. When he was about 33 years of age, he, and eleven of his countrymen, crossed over the sea into Holland, and laboured among the Frieslanders with extraordinary success, till driven from the country by the violent persecutions raised against them by the idolatrous sovereign Radbod. They then passed into Denmark, and preached the Gospel there during the life of Radbod; but at his decease returned into Friesland, where Willibrord was ordained bishop of Wiltenburgh, now Utrecht, by the Roman prelate. During the rest of his life, he was indefatigable in his exertions for the conversion of the idolaters around him, and for the general spread of Divine Truth. With this design he erected schools at Utrecht, which afterwards became famous; and an abbey at Epternach, near Treves, in the Duchy of Luxemburgh, then a dreary waste, for the purpose of educating missionaries. He died, in the 81st year of his age, about A. D. 738. Alcuin says, "He was of a becoming stature, venerable in his aspect, comely in his person, graceful, and always cheerful in his speech and countenance, wise in his council, unwearied in preaching and all apostolic functions, amidst which he was careful to nourish the interior life of his soul by assiduous prayer, singing of psalms, watching and fasting."[9]

At Epternach were kept, a few years ago, two MSS. in *Saxon letters*, supposed to have been brought from England by Willibrord. The one a copy of the Four Gospels, which in the colophon is said to be corrected from the original text of St. Jerom: "Præmendavi ut potui secundum codicem de bibliotheca Eugipi præspi-

(9) Butler's Lives, II. pp. 152—161.

teri, quem ferunt fuisse S. Hieronymi, indictione vi. post consulatum Basilii vc. anno septimo decimo."—The other, St. Jerom's *Martyrology*, which the Bollandists have caused to be engraved in their collection of the lives of the Saints. In the margin of this calendar is written, in Willibrord's hand; "Clement Willibrord came from beyond the sea into France, in 690; though unworthy, was ordained by the apostolic man, Pope Sergius, in 695; is now living in 728, &c." Another valuable MS. but probably of the *tenth* century, was also preserved in the same monastery. It is a copy of the FOUR GOSPELS, written upon exquisitely beautiful vellum, in letters of gold. The life of Jesus is represented in miniature paintings. In the Crucifixion, he is clothed in raiment of a *violet* colour, and nailed to the cross with four nails: the thieves also appear clothed. The Emperor Otho, and the Queen Theophanu, are represented on the cover; from which it is conjectured to have been given to the monastery by that emperor.[10]

WINFRID, afterwards called BONIFACE, was another of the distinguished characters of this age. He was an Englishman, born at Kirton, in Devonshire, about the year 680. From thirteen years of age he was educated in the monastery of Escancester, or Exeter, under the abbot Wolphard. After he had spent some years there, he removed to the monastery of Nutcell, in the diocese of Winchester, where he continued his studies under the learned abbot Winbert. Here he made unusual progress in poesy, rhetoric, history, and the knowledge of the Scriptures; and was afterwards appointed by his abbot to teach the same sciences: of which duty he acquitted himself with great profit to others; at the same time improving himself with that redoubled advantage which maturity of years and judgment, and a diligent review of a well di-

(10) Voyage Litteraire de deux Religieux Benedictins. II. pp. 197, 198. Paris, 1717, 4to.

gested course of former studies, give to masters of an elevated genius. At the age of 30, he was ordained priest, on the recommendation of his abbot, and laboured with much zeal in preaching the Word of God. His spirit was ardent, and he longed to be employed as a missionary in the conversion of pagans. With this design, he, with two other monks, went over into Friesland about the year 716; but finding that circumstances rendered it impracticable, at that time, to preach the Gospel in those parts, he returned into England, with his companions, to his monastery.

On the death of the abbot of Nutcell, the society would have elected Winfrid in his stead, but he firmly refused to accept the presidency; and having obtained recommendatory letters from the bishop of Winchester, proceeded to Rome, where he obtained from Pope Gregory II. a most ample and unlimited commission to endeavour the conversion of infidels.

With this commission, Winfrid went into Bavaria and Thuringia. In the first country he reformed the churches, in the second he was successful in the conversion of infidels. He afterwards co-operated for three years with Willibrord, in Friesland. Willibrord declining through age, chose Winfrid for his successor; an offer, which he declined, because the pope had enjoined him to preach in the eastern parts of Germany, and he felt himself bound to fulfil the injunction. He accordingly laboured to spread the Gospel through various parts of Germany, particularly Hesse, and succeeded in erecting the standard of truth even to the confines of Saxony; supporting himself at times by the labour of his hands, and repeatedly being exposed to imminent danger from the fury of the obstinate pagans.

In 732, he received the title of Archbishop, from Gregory III. who supported his mission with the same spirit as his predecessor, Gregory II. The increase of his dignity did not, however, lessen his zeal, he still continued

his pastoral care over the many churches he had founded, held various councils with his clergy, promoted several monastic institutions, and extended the Gospel to different barbarous and uncivilized nations. In 746, he laid the foundation of the great abbey of Fuld, or Fulden, which continued long the most renowned seminary of piety and learning, in all that part of the world. His principal residence he fixed at Mentz, from which he has usually been called the archbishop of that city.

His care for the churches, and his earnestness in the service of God, increased with his years, so that in 755, though oppressed with age and infirmities, and universally revered by the Christian world, he determined to return to Friesland. He therefore appointed Lullus, an Englishman, his successor as archbishop of Mentz; and wrote to the abbot of St. Denys, to request the king of France to be kind to him, and the other missionaries, who were struggling with indigence and difficulties. Having settled the affairs of his church, he went by the Rhine into Friesland, where, assisted by Eoban, whom he had ordained bishop of Utrecht, after the death of Willibrord, he brought great numbers of the pagans into the pale of the church. Having appointed the eve of Whit-sunday to confirm those whom he had baptized, he pitched a tent on the banks of the Bordne, a river which then divided East and West Friesland, and was waiting, in prayer, the arrival of the new converts, when instead of the friends he expected, a band of enraged pagans, armed with shields and lances, rushed furiously upon them, and slew Boniface and all his company, fifty-two in number. He died exhorting his followers not to fight, but to meet with constancy and cheerfulness, a death which would be to them the gate of light. This was in the 75th year of his age. The barbarians, instead of the valuable booty of gold and silver, which they had expected, found nothing of any value, but *books*, which they scattered about the fields and

marshes. *Three* of these were afterwards recovered, and kept in the monastery of Fuld, or Fulden; *a Book of the Gospels*, written in Boniface's own hand; a *Harmony, or Canons of the New Testament;* and a *Book*, containing the letter of St. Leo, to Theodorus, bishop of Frejus; and the discourse of St. Ambrose, "On the Holy Ghost," with his treatise, "De bono Mortis," or, "On the advantage of Death."[11]

A collection of Boniface's letters has been preserved and published. The following extracts from them will discover his love to the Scriptures, and his desire to promote an acquaintance with them in others. His epistle to the abbess Eadburga has been already mentioned. To Nithardus he writes, "Nothing can you search after, more honourably in youth, or enjoy more comfortably in old age, than the knowledge of Holy Scripture."—To Daniel, bishop of Winchester, he addresses a request, to send him the BOOK OF THE PROPHETS, "which," says he, "the abbot Winbert, formerly my master, left at his death, written in very distinct characters. A greater consolation in my old age, I cannot receive; for I can find no book like it in this country; and as my sight grows weak, I cannot easily distinguish the small letters, which are joined close together in the Sacred volumes which are at present in my possession." In other letters also, he begs for books, especially those of Bede, whom he styles the Lamp of the Church.[12] Boniface's letters are all written in Latin, but as Verstegan justly observes, the language of the English Saxons, and that of the inhabitants of most parts of Germany, were so nearly the same, that in their preaching, and general intercourse, he and his companions seem to have had no need of interpreters.[13]

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(11) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, III. ch. iv. pp. 172—182. Butler's Lives, VI. June 5.

(12) Milner, *ut sup.*

(13) Verstegan's Restitution of decayed intelligence, p. 147. 4to.

Another celebrated missionary, in this "age of missions," was WILLEHAD, or VILLEHAD, usually called the *Apostle of Saxony*. He was an Englishman, born in Northumberland, and educated in learning and piety. Crossing over the sea to the continent, he commenced his mission in Dockum, where Boniface was murdered, about the year 772. From Dockum, he made his way through the country now called Over-Yssel, and from thence to Trentonia, or Drentia, from whence he proceeded into Wigmore, where Bremen now stands, and was the first missionary who passed the Elbe. After labouring thirty-five years in his missions, he died at a village called Bleckensee, now Plexam, in Friesland, having been bishop of Bremen two years. Holy reading and meditation were his favourite exercises; and he usually recited the whole Psalter every day, and frequently two or three times a day. His attention and love to the Scriptures were discoverable in his copying, with his own hand, the *Epistles of St. Paul*, beside other books. His cathedral at Bremen, he built of *wood:* his successor Willoric, afterwards rebuilt it of stone.[14] This mode of erecting churches was practised in other places where architecture was at a low ebb. Sulpicius Severus tells us, "that in the deserts of Libya, near Cyrene, he went, with a priest with whom he lodged, into a church which was made of small rods or twigs interwoven one with another, and not much more stately and ambitious than the priests' own house, in which a man could hardly stand upright. But the men who frequented these churches, were men of the golden age and the purest morals." (S. Sulpic. Sev. *Dial.* I. ch. ii.) Bede also informs us, that anciently there was not a stone church in all this island, but that the custom was to build them all of wood; so that when Bishop Ninyas built one of stone, it was such an unusual thing, that the place was called

(14) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, III. pp. 187, 188, Butler's Lives, II. Nov. 8.

from it *Candida Casa*, Whithern, or Whitchurch. (Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. iv.) The church erected on the place where St. Edmund was martyred at Bedricksworth, or Kingston, since called St. Edmundsbury, was built after the same manner. Trunks of large trees were sawn lengthways in the middle, and reared up with one end fixed in the ground, with the bark or rough side outermost. These trunks being made of an equal height, and set up close to one another, and the interstices filled up with mud formed the four walls, upon which was raised a thatched roof. Of the low rough manner of building in use among our ancestors, we have, or lately had, an example still standing, in part of Greensted church, near Ongar, in Essex. In this church, the most ancient part, the nave or body, was entirely composed of the trunks of large oaks split, and rough hewed on both sides. They were set upright and close to each other, being let into a sill at the bottom, and a plate at the top, where they were fastened with wooden pins. "This," says Ducarel, "was the whole of the original church, which yet remains entire, though much corroded and worn by length of time. It is 29 feet 9 inches long, and 5 feet 6 inches high, on the sides, which supported the primitive roof." But perhaps nothing more satisfactorily proves the general practice of building with wood, than the Anglo-Saxon verb commonly used when buildings are spoken of being erected. It is *getymbrian*, 'to make of wood.' Where Bede says of any one that he built a monastery or a church, Alfred, in his translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, uses the word *getimbrade*.[15]

But to return from this digression.—ALCUIN, called also FLACCUS ALBINUS, another learned Englishman of this age, was so eminent for learning and science, that Charlemagne selected him for his literary friend and preceptor.

(15) Butler's Lives, II. pp. 336. 339.
Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, II. p. 412.
Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 100.

The place of his birth has been disputed, but he says of himself, that he was nourished and educated at York, where he learned Latin and Greek, with the elements of the Hebrew language, and went through the sacred studies, under Egbert, and Elbert, who taught a great school in that city, till they were successively placed in the archiepiscopal chair. When Elbert succeeded Egbert in that dignity, in 766, he committed to Alcuin the care of the school, and of the library belonging to that church. Eadbald succeeding his uncle Elbert as archbishop, in 780, sent Alcuin to Rome to bring over his pall. On his return, Charlemagne met him at Pavia, and was so struck with the wisdom of his discourse, that he earnestly requested him to fix his residence at his court, as soon as he had accomplished his mission. To an invitation so flattering, Alcuin gave his consent, provided he could obtain the permission of his king and archbishop, and might be allowed to revisit his country. The requisite permission being granted, he returned to France, where he devoted himself to the instruction of his royal pupil, and the general interests of religion, literature, and science; and such were his indefatigable exertions for the encouragement and dissemination of learning, that they were not only successful in France, but greatly contributed to the general promotion of it throughout Europe.

From the numerous possessions and jurisdictions which Alcuin enjoyed, Elipand, a bishop of Spain, in a theological dispute with him, took the opportunity to reproach him severely for his riches, and the number of his vassals or slaves. "Elipand," says he, in a letter to the bishop of Lyons, "objects to me, my riches, servants and vassals, which amount to the number of 20,000, not reflecting that the possession of riches is vicious only from the attachment of the heart. It is one thing to possess the world, and another to be possessed by the world. Some possess riches, though perfectly disengaged from

them in their hearts: others though they enjoy none, yet love and covet them." And it is but justice to the character of this great man, to remark, that these vassals belonged to the several abbeys of which the king had compelled him to undertake the administration, that he might establish regular discipline in them, and employ the surplus of the revenue in alms, agreeably to the intention of such foundations. Charlemagne had also made him his general almoner, and appointed him a house for the reception of strangers. It will nevertheless serve to mark the manners of the age, to remember, that the vassals or slaves belonging to the different abbeys "were obliged to go with their carts fifty miles or upwards, whenever their abbot commanded, and were not permitted to marry, or change their abode, without first receiving his express consent; that they were compelled to cultivate the land three days in the week, while their master solely enjoyed the fruits of their industry; and that in several instances the abbots exercised the jurisdiction of life and death over them."

So far was the mind of the pious Alcuin from being corrupted by his prosperity, that he frequently intreated the king to permit him to resign those gifts, which he had only accepted upon the pressing solicitation of the sovereign.

After repeated and sincere solicitations on the part of Alcuin, and frequent refusals from Charlemagne, he was permitted to retire to the abbey of St. Martin at Tours, as a private monk. In this retirement, all his studies were bent towards theology; and it has even been affirmed, that notwithstanding his early attachment to the classic writers, in his advanced age he found fault with Ricabode, archbishop of Treves, for poring over the "Æneid," instead of fixing his thoughts entirely upon the "Four Evangelists". Some of the last years of his life he employed in a work of great importance, the Revision

OF THE LATIN BIBLE. From the carelessness of transcribers, the copies of the Scriptures, in general use, were become exceedingly incorrect; Alcuin, therefore, at the instance of Charlemagne, undertook to revise the vulgate version of the Old and New Testament, and bring it as near as possible to its orignal purity. For this purpose he examined and collated a number of valuable MSS. and with indefatigable industry completed his laborious work so much to the satisfaction of his august patron, that it became the authorised edition read in the churches. Some copies of this revision are extant, particularly *two*, one preserved in the library of the Fathers of the Oratory, at Rome, and the other in that of the monastery of St. Paul without the Walls. After enjoying imperial confidence and affection in a degree seldom experienced, he breathed his last in the abbey of St. Martin, at Tours, on the 19th of May, 804. His works were published by Frobenius, in 1777, in 4 vols. 4to.[16]

Unfortunately, the invaluable labours of these and other pious and learned men, proved insufficient to dispel the thick darkness which overspread the Western world at this period, extending its influence over both clergy and laity, and producing a correspondent laxity of morals and barbarism of manners. Alcuin, in a letter to Offa, king of Mercia, says, "I was ready to return into my native country of Northumberland, loaded with presents by Charlemagne; but upon the intelligence I have received, I think it better to remain where I am than venture myself in a country where no man can enjoy security, or prosecute his studies. For, lo! their churches are demolished by the pagans, their altars polluted with impiety, their monasteries defiled with adulteries, and the

(16) Card's Reign of Charlemagne, ch. iv. Lond. 1807, 8vo.
Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, II. pp. 355. 371.
Butler's Lives, V. pp. 115—117.
Fabricy, Titres Primitifs, II. pp. 99. 133.

land wet with the blood of its nobles and princes."[17] So great was the ignorance of the clergy in this and several of the succeeding centuries, that instructions were given by the pope to the bishops, to make inquiries through the parishes of their respective districts, whether the officiating clergy could read the Gospels and Epistles correctly, and give a literal interpretation of them. Gislemar, an archbishop of Rheims, being called upon before his consecration to read a portion of the Gospels, was found so shamefully ignorant, as not to understand the literal meaning of the passage.[18] In Germany, a certain priest was so totally unacquainted with the Latin, the common language of the church offices, that he baptized in the name *Patri, Filia, et Spiritus Sancta;* and a question arising as to the legitimacy of the baptism, it was judged proper to refer it to Pope Zachary for his decision.[19] This was the same pope who imprisoned Virgilius, for asserting the existence of the Antipodes; though Butler, in his *Lives of the Saints,* vol. III. p. 173, endeavours to prove that the error of Virgilius was that of maintaining that there were other men under the earth, another sun and moon, and another world; or, in other words, another race of men, who did not descend from Adam, and were not redeemed by Christ; and that this being contrary to the Scriptures, he was justly censurable. But whether he taught the spherical form of the earth, or the plurality of worlds, his condemnation is sufficient to prove the low state of scientific acquirements, by even the highest dignitaries of the church.

In France, the martial spirit which prevailed during the government of Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne, extended its influence to the church. "In order to acquire consideration in the eyes of their martial prince,

(17) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, IV. p. 45.
(18) Enfield's Hist. of Philosophy, II. B. ii. ch. ii. p. 344, Lond, 8vo.
(19) Lomeier, De Bibliothecis, p. 153.

and to give a decisive check to future grants of their estates to laymen, the bishops and abbots embraced the singular resolution of following him to battle, in the character of soldiers: so that it became no uncommon spectacle, to behold dignified ecclesiastics, at the head of their vassals, vie with laymen in feats of military skill and valour; while swords adorned with precious stones, fastened to costly belts, and golden spurs, alike characterized the dress of both." Charlemagne, in common with the whole nation, felt the indecency and disgrace of a warlike clergy; and an edict was issued, which ordained, that priests should not attend the army, except for the purpose of saying mass, and administering spiritual consolation to the troops. He likewise forbade them the use of arms, to hunt, or to keep falcons; but declared, that by these prohibitions he did not intend to diminish the dignity, or property of the bishops; but, on the contrary, their wealth and honours should be increased in proportion to the amendment of their lives, and their devoted attachment to their holy calling.[20] These wise regulations checked, for a while, the military and secular appearance and conduct of the priesthood; but the clergy gradually reassumed the laical character, so that Du Cange informs us, the deans of many cathedrals in France entered on their dignities habited in a surplice, girt with a sword, in boots and gilt spurs, and a hawk on the fist. Carpentier adds, that the treasurers of some churches, particularly that of Nivernois, claimed the privilege of assisting at mass, or whatever festival they pleased, without the canonical vestments, and carrying a hawk. And the Lord of Sassay held some of his lands, by placing a hawk on the high altar of the church of Evreux, while his parish priest celebrated the service, booted and spurred, to the beat of the drum instead of the organ. We even find them sometimes conferring the titles of secular nobility on the Apostles and saints; thus

(20) Card's Reign of Charlemagne, pp. 92—97.

St. James was actually created a *Baron* at Paris; and among the many contradictions of this kind which entered into the system of the middle ages, may be reckoned the institution, in 1118, of the *Knights Templars*. This was an establishment of armed monks, who made a vow of living at the same time, both as anchorets and soldiers.[21] Their professed object was to defend the holy places and pilgrims, from the insults of the Saracens; and to keep the passes free for such as undertook the voyage to the Holy Land. They were suppressed by the council of Vienne, in 1312.

The different canons promulgated by various councils and synods in this age, prove but too fully, the dissolute manners of both clergy and laity: several of these relate to crimes too abominable to be mentioned, the reader, therefore, who wishes to pursue the subject, may consult Wilkins' *Leges Anglo-Saxonica*, the canons of the different Councils; and the capitulars of Charlemagne. Some that refer to less atrocious actions shall be noticed. In the canons or *Excerptions* of Ecgbright, or Egbert, framed in 740, the following is the 14th: "That none who is numbered among the priests cherish the vice of drunkenness, nor force others to be drunk by his importunity."* The 19th enjoins, "That no priest swear an oath, but speak all things simply, purely, truly." The 70th decrees, "that an abbot or monk may not give freedom to a slave of the monastery: for it is impious that he should damage the church who hath given nothing to it." The 147th is, "That no Christian observe Pagan superstitions, but express all manner of contempt toward all

(21) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, II. p. 345. *Note.* Du Cange, Gloss. Lat. v. *Decanus.*

* Archbishop Boniface observes, in his Epistles, (Epist. Bonifacii, Wilkins I, 93,) 'that drunkenness was so common in his time, that even the bishops, instead of preventing, were themselves partakers in it: and not content with this, compelled others to drink from large cups till they also became inebriated.' (Sharpe's William of Malmesbury's History &c. B. i. ch. viii. p. 171. *note.*)

the defilements of the Gentiles." The 154th says, "A clerk ought not to bear arms, nor go into the wars, but rather trust in the Divine defence, than in arms." In Cuthbert's canons, made at Cloves-hoo, in 747, it is enacted by the 20th decree, "That bishops, by a vigilant inspection in their parishes, take care, that monasteries, as their name imports, be honest retreats for the silent, and quiet, and such as labour for God's sake; not receptacles of ludicrous arts, of versifiers, harpers, and buffoons; but houses for them who pray, and read, and praise God." And that, "Nunneries, be not places of secret rendezvous for filthy talk, junketing, drunkenness, and luxury, but habitations for such as live in continence and sobriety, and who read and sing psalms; but let them spend their time in reading books, and singing psalms, rather than in weaving and working party-coloured, vain-glorious apparel." By the Legatine canons of the council of Cealchythe, A. D. 785. can. 16th, the children of nuns are declared "spurious and illegitimate;" and in the 19th can. several superstitious and singular practices of our ancestors are noticed, I shall therefore transcribe the whole of it; it is there enjoined, "That every Christian take example by catholic men: and if any pagan rite remain, let it be plucked up, despised, and rejected; for God created man comely and sightly, but pagans, by the instinct of the devil, sacrifice themselves, as Prudentius says,

Tinxit et innocuum maculis sordentibus humor.

He seems to do an injury to the Lord, who defiles and depraves his workmanship. If any one should undergo this blood-letting, for the sake of God, he would on that account receive great reward; but whoever does it out of heathenish superstition, does no more advance his salvation thereby, than the Jews do by bodily circumcision, without sincere faith."

"Ye wear garments like those of the Gentiles, whom your fathers, by the help of God, drove out of the world

by arms. A wonderful stupid thing! to imitate the example of them whose manners ye hate."

"Ye also, by a filthy custom, maim your horses, ye slit their nostrils, fasten their ears together, make them deaf, cut off their tails, and render yourselves hateful, in not keeping them sound when ye may."

"We have heard also, that when you have any controversy between yourselves, ye use sorcery, after the manner of the Gentiles, which is accounted sacrilege in these times."

"Many of you eat horse-flesh, which is done by none of the Eastern Christians; take heed of this too. Endeavour that all your doings be honest, and done in the Lord."[22]

Other attempts were made to prevent these unchristian practices, by injunctions to the clergy, with respect to reading the Scriptures to the people, and instructing them in their duty. Thus in the *Excerptions* of Ecgbright, it is ordained, can. 3, "That on all Festivals, and Lord's-days, every priest preach Christ's *Gospel*, to the people;" and, can. 6, "That every priest do with great exactness instil the *Lord's Prayer*, and *Creed*, into the people committed to him, and shew them to endeavour after the knowledge of the whole religion, and the practice of Christianity." By Cuthbert's canons, it was enacted, can. 3, "That every bishop do every year visit his parish; and call to him, at convenient places, the people of every condition and sex, and plainly teach them who rarely hear the Word of God;" it was also decreed can. 7, "That bishops, abbots, and abbesses, do by all means take care, and diligently provide that their families incessantly apply their minds to reading:" "for," adds the canon, "it is sad to say, how few, now-a-days, do heartily love and labour for Sacred Knowledge, and are willing to take any pains in learning; but they are, from their youth up, rather employed in divers vanities, and the affectation of vain glory; and they rather pursue the amusements of this present unsta-

(22) Johnson's Collection of Eccl. Laws, Canons, &c. I. An. 740. &c.

ble life, than the assiduous study of the Holy Scriptures. Therefore let the boys be confined and trained up in the schools, to the Law of Sacred Knowledge, that being by this means well learned, they may become in all respects useful to the church of God; and let not the rectors* be so greedy of the worldly labour [of the boys] as to render the house of God vile, for want of spiritual adornment." In the tenth decree of the same council, they farther taught, "That priests should learn to know how to perform, according to the lawful rites, every office belonging to their orders; and then let them who know it not, learn to construe, and explain in our own tongue the *Creed* and *Lord's Prayer*, and the sacred words which are solemnly pronounced at the celebration of mass, and in the office of baptism." By can. 14, it was ordained, "That the Lord's day be celebrated by all, with due veneration, and wholly separated for divine service. And let all abbots and priests instruct the servants subject to them, from the oracles of the Holy Scripture." It was also decreed, "That on that day, and on the great festivals, the priests of God do often invite the people to meet in the church, to hear the Word of God, and to be often present at sacraments of the mass, and at preaching of sermons." One of the canons of the same council, relating to the practice of Psalmody, so much in use in the early and middle ages, offers so curious an argument in favour of singing *in an unknown tongue*, that it deserves to be transcribed; "Psalmody," say they, "is a divine work, a great cure in many cases, for the souls of those who do it *in spirit*, and in mind. But they that sing with the voice, without the inward meaning, may make the sound resemble something; therefore, though a man *knows not*

* "*Rectors* were the heads of religious houses, and *Incumbents*, as we now speak, in lesser churches, who had their schools for training up young monks, and clerks, and who obliged their scholars to bodily labour: therefore they were not here forbidden absolutely to labour, but only so far as was inconsistent with their learning."

the Latin words that are sung, yet he may devoutly apply the intention of his own heart, to the things which are at present to be asked of God, and fix them there to the best of his power."[23]

A passage in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, has led some writers to suppose that during this century, some portions at least, of the Scriptures, were translated into the vernacular tongues of the different nations who inhabited Britain at this period. The words of Bede, *lib.* i. cap. i. are "Hæc in præsenti juxta numerum librorum, quibus lex divina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque summæ veritatis et veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur, Anglorum videlicet, Britonum, Scotorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum quæ meditatione scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis." "This island searches and confesses one and the same knowledge of the highest truth, and of the true sublimity, according to the number of books in which the Divine Law is written, in the language of five nations, viz. of the English, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Latins, which last has become common to all the rest, by the meditation of the Scriptures." It must be acknowledged, however, that if any parts of the Sacred Writings, were then translated into those different tongues, they were soon lost or destroyed, or neglected for the more common *Latin* versions, since we hear nothing of several of these translations from any contemporary or succeeding writer. Be this as it may, it is certain that it was customary to copy Latin and Greek works, in *Saxon* characters, for the convenience of Saxon or English readers, or learners. A MS. of the FOUR GOSPELS, with *Prefaces* and the *Canons* of *Eusebius*, written in Saxon characters in this century, is among the Royal Collection of MSS. in the British Museum:[24] and Astle in

(23) Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, *ubi sup.*
(24) Classical Journal, No. xv. p. 150.

his "Origin and Progress of Writing," has given fac-similes of others. A PSALTER which had belonged to Aldhelm, written after the same manner, was kept at Malmsbury till the Reformation.[25] In the Cotton Library, there is a MS. [Galba, A. 18,] with the *Lord's Prayer* in the Greek language, written in Saxon characters. "It is probably," says Mr. Turner, (*Hist. of Anglo-Saxons*, vol. II. p. 361,) "a correct example of the pronunciation of Greek, as introduced into England by Adrian and Theodore, in the seventh century; but it certainly shews, in the division of the words, how little the writer understood of the language. I will transcribe it, placing the original by its side:

Pater imon oynys	Πατερ ήμῶν ὁ εν τοις
uranis agiastituto oiiomansu-	'ϑρανοῖς ἁγιασϑήτω το 'όνομα σου.
elthetu ebasilias genithito	Ελϑετω η βασιλεια σϑ γενεϑητω
to theli mansu. os senu	το ϑελημα σϑ, ως εν
uranu Keptasgis	ϑρανῳ, και επι της γης.
tonartonimon. tonepiussion.	Τον αρτον ημων, τον επιϑσιον.
dos simin simero Keaffi	δος ημιν σημερον. Και αφες
simin. to offilemata imon	ημιν τα οφειλειματα ημων,
oskeimis affiomen. tus	ως και ημεις αφιεμεν τοις
ophiletas imon Kemies	οφειλεταις ημων. Και μη εις-
iniukis imas. isperas	ενεγκης ημας εις πειρασ-
mon. ala ryse imas	μον αλλα ρυσαι ημας
aptou poniru.	απο τϑ πονηρϑ.

The character which I express by the K, seems placed for Καὶ."[26]

Such instances as these must be considered as rare proofs of attachment to literature, when transcriptions were expensive, and the most noted libraries composed of few books. Alcuin has left us the following poetical catalogue of the authors in the celebrated library of Egbert, archbishop of York; 'the oldest catalogue perhaps existing in all the regions of literature, certainly the oldest existing in England.'

(25) Whitaker's Cathedral of Cornwall, II. p. 326. *Note.*
(26) Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, *ut sup.*

Illic inveniés veterum vestigia Patrum,
Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe,
Græcia vel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis;
Hebraicus vel quod pópulus bibit imbre superno,
Africa lucifluo vel quidquid lumine sparsit;
Quod pater Hieronymus, quod sensit Hilarius, atque
Ambrosius præsul, simul Augustinus, et ipse
Sanctus Athanasius, quod Orosius edit avitus,
Quidquid Gregorius summus docet, et Leo papa,
Basilius quidquid, Fulgentius atque, coruscant,
Cassiodorus item, Chrysostom atque Johannes;
Quidquid et Athelmus docuit, quid Beda Magister,
Quæ Victorinus scripsêre, Boetius atque;
Historici veteres, Pompeius, Plinius ipse;
Acer Aristoteles, rhetor quoque Tullius ingens;
Quid quoque Sedulius, vel quid canit ipse Juvencus;
Alcuinus, et Clemens, Prosper, Paulinus, Arator,
Quid Fortunatus, vel quid Lactantius edunt;
Quæ Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus, et auctor
Artis Grammaticæ, vel quid scripsêre Magistri;
Quid Probus atque Focas, Donatus, Priscianusve,
Servius, Euticius, Pompeius, Commenianus.
Invenies alios perplures, lector, ibidem
Egregios studiis, arte et sermone magistros,
Plurima qui claro scripsêre volumina sensu:
Nomina sed quorum præsenti in carmine scribi
Longius est visum, quam plectri postulet usus.[28]

The following *imitation* will convey to the English reader a general idea of the contents of this celebrated library:

Here, duly placed on consecrated ground,
The studied works of many an age are found.
The ancient *Fathers'* reverend remains;
The *Roman Laws*, which freed a world from chains;
Whate'er of lore passed from immortal *Greece*
To *Latian* lands, and gained a rich increase;
All that *blest Israel* drank in showers from heaven;
Or *Afric* sheds, soft as the dew of even:
Jerom, the father 'mong a thousand sons:
And *Hilary*, whose sense profusely runs.
Ambrose, who nobly guides both church and state;
Augustin, good and eminently great;
And holy *Athanasius*,—sacred name!
All that proclaims *Orosius'* learned fame.
Whate'er the lofty *Gregory* hath taught;
Or *Leo* Pontiff, good without a fault;
With all that shines illustrious in the page

(27) Alcuinus de Pontificibus, &c, quoted in Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, IV. pp. 33, 34.

Of *Basil* eloquent, *Fulgentius* sage;
And *Cassiodorus*, with a consul's power,
Yet eager to improve the studious hour.
And *Chrysostom*, whose fame immortal flies,
Whose style, whose sentiment, demand the prize.
All that *Adhelmus* wrote; and all that flows
From *Beda's* fruitful mind, in verse or prose.
Lo! *Victorinus*, and *Boetius* hold
A place for sage philosophy, of old.
Here sober *History* tells her ancient tale;
Pompey to charm, and *Pliny*, never fail.
The *Stagyrite* unfolds his searching page;
And *Tully* flames, the glory of his age.
Here you may listen to *Sedulian* strains;
And sweet *Juvencus'* lays delight the plains.
Alcuin, *Paulinus*, *Prosper*, sing, or show,
With *Clemens*, and *Arator*, all they know.
What *Fortunatus*, and *Lactantius* wrote;
What *Virgil* pours in many a pleasing note.
Statius, and *Lucan*, and the polished sage,
Whose *Art of Grammar* guides a barbarous age.
In fine, whate'er th' immortal Masters taught,
In all their rich variety of thought.
And as the names sound from the roll of fame,
Donatus, *Focas*, *Priscian*, *Probus* claim
An honoured place;—and *Servius* joins the band;
While also move with mien formed to command
Euticius, *Pompey*, and *Commenian*, wise
In all the lore antiquity supplies.
Here, the pleased reader cannot fail to find
Other famed masters of the arts refined,
Whose numerous works, penned in a beauteous style,
Delight the student, and all care beguile,
Whose names a lengthened and illustrious throng,
I wave at present, and conclude my song.

D. Mc Nicoll.

Celebrated as this library was, it appears to have contained only fourteen fathers and ecclesiastical works, ten ancient classics, including two or three modern Latin writers, six grammarians and scholiasts, and six modern Latin poets; yet this was the library of which Alcuin speaks in a letter to Charlemagne: "O that I had the use of those admirable books, on all parts of learning, which I enjoyed in my native country; collected by the industry of my beloved master Egbert. May it please your imperial majesty, in your great wisdom, to permit me to send some of our youth to transcribe the most valuable

books in that library, and thereby transplant the flowers of Britain into France."[28]

It was also in the earlier part of this century, that King Pepin of France requested some books from the pontiff, Paul I. "I have sent to you," replied his holiness, "what books I could find." To such a benefactor as Pepin had been to the apostolic see, the selection, doubtless, was as munificent as good-will and gratitude could make it; and yet the pope could procure for the sovereign of France, and the libraries of Rome could supply, nothing more valuable than an *Antiphonale*, and a *Responsale*, a *Grammatica Aristotelis*, (a work now not known,) *Dionysii Areopagitæ Libros, Geometrian, Orthographian, Grammaticam*, all of which were Greek writers.[29] Though it is a singular fact, that England was regarded as so excellent a mart for books, that as early as the year 705, books were brought hither for sale.

But notwithstanding the scarcity of books, and the barbarous ignorance that so generally reigned, care was taken, in many instances, to instruct even children in the knowledge of the Scriptures. Bede, (Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. cap. xix.) says of Furseus, that from his very childhood he had been well acquainted with the Sacred Scriptures; and Boniface (In Vita Livini,) relates of Livinus, that he was trained up in his youth by Benignus, in the singing of David's Psalms, and the reading of the Holy Gospels, and other divine exercises: the same is likewise noticed of Kilianus and others; and of the virgin Bitihildis, it is related, that when lying upon her death-bed, she requested for several nights successively, that a light might be burned, and the Holy Scriptures be read to her.[30]

(28) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, IV. p. 32.
(29) Berington's Literary History of the Middle Ages, B. ii. p. 124.
(30) Usher's Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British, p, 4. Lond. 1687, 4to.

CHAPTER VII.

NINTH CENTURY.

Charlemagne. Rabanus Maurus. Otfrid's Harmony. Walafrid Strabo. Anselm. Text and Gloss. Catenæ. Commentaries. Methodius and Cyril. Slavonian Version. Alfred the Great. Anglo-Saxon Psalter. Rushworth Gloss.

THE close of the *eighth* and the commencement of the *ninth* century, were marked by the military prowess, magnificence, and liberality, and even the inconsistency of the renowned CHARLEMAGNE, emperor of the West, and king of France. A monarch of the most vigorous and comprehensive mind, and the great patron of learning and learned men; yet so neglected in his education, that he could not write, and was forty-five years of age when he began to study the sciences, under Alcuin. Though grossly sensual in his pleasures, he was plain in his dress, and frugal at his table. Equally fired by the love of conquest and of science, the Danube, the Teisse, and the Oder, on the east, and the Ebro, and the ocean, on the west, became the boundaries of his vast dominions; and France, Germany, Dalmatia, Istria, Italy, and part of Pannonia, and Spain, obeyed his laws. Superior to the prejudices, and the contempt of learning, discovered by the laity of all classes, he assembled scientific and literary men from all parts of Europe; and "established schools in the cathedrals and principal abbeys, for teaching writing, arithmetic, grammar, and church-music; certainly no very elevated sciences, yet considerable at a time when many dignified ecclesiastics could not subscribe the canons of those councils in which they sat as members;

and when it was deemed a sufficient qualification for a priest, to be able to read the Gospels, and understand the Lord's Prayer."[1]

Led on by a blind and ambitious zeal for the propagation of Christianity, Charlemagne affixed an indelible stain on his character, by frequently attempting to dragoon the pagan nations whom he conquered, into a profession of the Gospel. At other times, he acted in a spirit more congenial with religion, and laboured to promote among the clergy, an attention to learning, and the duties of their office; and to diffuse a knowledge of the Scriptures and morality among the laity. In his *Admonition to the Presbyters*, in 804, he charges the priests to acquaint themselves with the Scriptures; to gain right views of the doctrine of the Trinity; to commit the whole of the *Psalms*, and the *Baptismal Office* to memory; to be ready to teach others; and to fulfil the duties of their station to the utmost of their power.[2] In 805, he confirmed the practice of reading the Scriptures publicly. "Let the lessons," says he, "be distinctly read in the church."[3] He also employed PAUL WARNEFRID, usually called *Paulus Diaconus*, or Paul the Deacon, a learned monk, who had held important offices under the Lombard kings, and who was the author of a History of the *Lombard nation*, to reform the church service, and in particular ordered him to select from the works of the Fathers, HOMILIES, or discourses upon the Epistles and Gospels, worthy to be recited by the faithful in the churches of God. In this work Paul is said to have been assisted by Alcuin.[4] In the council of Tours, in which Charlemagne presided, A. D. 813, it was ordered that every bishop should procure a book of Homilies, containing the instructions necessary for his flock, particu-

(1) Russel's Modern Europe, I. pt. ii. Let. 9. p. 64. 8vo.
(2) S. S. Concilia, VII. p. 1182. edit. P. Labbei.
(3) Ibid. VII. p. 1183.
(4) Card's Reign of Charlemagne, p. 107.
Berington's Lit. Hist. of the Middle Ages, p. 162.

larly those respecting the Resurrection of the dead, a future Judgment, the final dispensation of eternal Rewards and Punishments, and the works to which everlasting life is promised, or refused; which he should take care to have translated into the *Rustic Roman*, or *Teutonic* (German,) that the people might more easily understand the doctrines delivered to them. For the Franks, then either retained the original Teutonic, or else adopted the Rustic Roman, from which the modern French is derived.[5] It has also been affirmed by different authors, that Charlemagne caused the Scriptures themselves to be translated into the Teutonic, or vulgar dialect of the Franks; but of this there is some doubt, as there are no copies of it now to be found, and as it does not appear that contemporary writers have mentioned any such translation. In 813, the second council of Rheims, held under his auspices, enjoined, "That the bishops and abbots should have the poor and indigent with them at their table; there read aloud the Sacred Scriptures; and take their food with thanksgiving and praise."[6] He directed his vigilance and circumspection equally to the inferior as to the higher classes of the clergy, and considered in what manner their time and faculties might be most advantageously employed; as is evident from an edict, which ordains, that "if after the repeated admonitions of their bishop to improve the poverty of their understandings by study, they should still shew no traces of amendment, their ignorance should not only be punished with the loss of their office, but of whatever ecclesiastical preferment they held." He also discovered a just discrimination of merit in the ecclesiastics of his kingdom, and a disposition to reward it, as is demonstrated by the following anecdote: Having received

(5) S. S. Concilia, *Concil. Turonense III.* Tom. VII. p. 1263.
(6) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 373. Paris, 1723, fol.
Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 111, and Whartoni Auctarium, p. 457,

intelligence of the death of a bishop, he inquired how much of his property he had bequeathed to the poor, the answer was, two pounds of silver; upon which a young clerk exclaimed, "That is but a very small provision for so great a voyage." Charlemagne pleased with the observation, instantly said to him, "Be thou his successor; but never forget that expression."[7]

To promote the instruction of the people, and the more general diffusion of knowledge, injunctions were issued, requiring the bishops to make inquiry in their diocesan visitations, "Whether the respective priests could read the *Epistles* and *Gospels* with propriety; and particularly whether they could explain the literal sense of them?" They were also enjoined to instruct their parishioners in the public prayers of the church, as well as in the *Lord's Prayer*, that they might know what they asked from God."* Various directions were likewise given relating to the chanting of the Psalms, and the other parts of public worship;[8] and two schools of chant established, one at Soissons, and the other at Metz, from whence the professors of that art were distributed throughout the provinces. A knowledge indeed of the Roman chant, as settled by Pope Gregory the Great, often exalted its possessor to the highest preferments of the church.[9]

By a capitular of 789, and by several subsequent ordinances, the bishops were exhorted to establish two sorts of schools in their respective dioceses. Reading and wri-

(7) Card's Reign of Charlemagne, pp. 109. 116.

* An opinion having been very generally and extensively propagated, that it was not lawful to celebrate divine service, or to possess or read the Scriptures in any other tongues than the Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, which were denominated *sacred*, from being the three tongues in which the Saviour's title was inscribed on the cross; the council of Frankfort, in 794, decreed, "That none ought to believe that they were not to pray to God, except in one of the *three* tongues; for God might be adored in any language, and those who asked what was right, would be heard whatever tongue they used in their petitions."

(8) Whartoni Auctarium Hist. Dogmat. Usserii. pp. 345. 459.

(9) Card's Reign of Charlemagne, p. 106.

ting were to be taught in those established for the cultivation of the infant mind; in the others, which were to be opened in the cathedrals and monasteries, the arts of music, grammar, logic, and rhetoric were acquired. The instruction afforded in these schools was ordered to be gratuitous, and the scholars were to be treated with tenderness and affection. The churches were to be furnished with small libraries for their use, consisting principally of the Scriptures, or ecclesiastical offices, ("ut in ecclesiis libri canonici veraces habeantur.") The chief aim of Charlemagne in founding these schools, was, undoubtedly, to give the clergy a greater proficiency in their theological studies, and thus to qualify them for a proper performance of their sacred functions; but laics also, of every age and of every rank, were admitted into these seminaries, that the treasures of learning might not be exclusively confined to the teachers of religion. In the council of Toul, or Savonieres, in Lorrain, held in 859, the same decree was renewed, whilst it was acknowledged and lamented, that scarcely any vestige remained of a just understanding of the Divine Scriptures.[10] In these institutions, every study pointed towards religion, even *Grammar* was taught chiefly with a view of comprehending better the Holy Scriptures, and of transcribing them with more correctness; and *Sacred* Music was then alone studied and commended.

Over the progress of the young scholars, Charlemagne watched with a degree of attention, not to be expected from the multiplicity of his public concerns; and he took great delight in examining, with the masters, their different compositions. Having discovered, upon some remarkable occasion, that the children of the poorer classes of the people, whom he had caused to be educated among those of the nobles, left the latter far behind in their studies,

(10) Whartoni Auctarium, pp. 346, 347.
Card's Reign of Charlemagne, pp. 102, 103.

he applauded their proficiency, and declared that his favours should be exclusively bestowed on them. Then turning to their high-born fellow students, he addressed them in words which evinced his fixed determination to stimulate and reward talents, even if they should be deduced from the lowest origin. "It is evident," says he, "that you rest your claims to promotion, solely upon the merits of your ancestors: know, therefore, that they have received their recompense, and that the state renounces all obligations, except to those who are capable of promoting her interests and honour by their abilities."[11]

He likewise established an academy in his own palace. Here the study of the Greek language was introduced, and various sciences were cultivated, especially astronomy, rhetoric, poetry, history, and antiquities. Each of the members in this distinguished society assumed a literary and academic name. Alcuin assumed the name of Horace; Angilbert, a young man of noble birth, and eminently skilled in the composition of Greek verses, styled himself Homer; the celebrated Eginhard, secretary or chancellor of Charlemagne, was called Kalliopus; Adalhardus, abbot of Corbie, received the title of Augustin; Riculphus, archbishop of Mentz, that of Dametas; Theodolphus, from his attachment to the lyrical productions of the Greeks, obtained the name of Pindar; and Charlemagne himself, in consequence of his decisive predilection for ecclesiastical writings, as well as from having committed the whole of the Psalms to memory, received the appropriate name of David from Alcuin, who is justly regarded as the founder and president of his literary undertakings.[12]

In the academy just mentioned, the emperor wished only to maintain the character of a simple member; assisting at their meetings, and discharging with zeal and promptitude all the duties of an academician. In

(11) Card, p. 156. (12) Ibid, pp. 157—164.

his more private studies he was careful to buy up every moment, not otherwise employed, for the acquirement of knowledge. During his meals, he listened to the Holy Scriptures, or some devotional book, which he never failed to have read to him; probably the Lives of those saints which he had ordered to be written in a small volume, and of which copies were dispersed throughout his dominions, for the improvement and edification of his people; and a reader was constantly summoned to his frugal supper, for the express purpose of acquainting him with the history of his royal predecessors, that he might know how to avoid their faults, and imitate their virtues. He had also St. Austin's book, *On the city of God*, laid every night under his pillow, to read if he awaked. He is said to have been skilled in astronomy, arithmetic, music, and the different branches of the mathematics; and to have understood, though certainly not perfectly, the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac, beside the Slavonian, and several other living languages. He wrote Latin verses, and even ventured to publish a Teutonic Grammar, though defective in his knowledge of composition, and incapable of expressing himself with grammatical accuracy.[13]

About a year before his decease, Charlemagne resigned the empire to his son Louis, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the presence of the bishops, abbots, and nobles. After this important transaction he retired from public life, and devoted himself to study, meditation, and prayer. In his retirement he is said to have engaged in a collation of the *Four Gospels* with the original Greek, and the Syriac version, in order to obtain a correct copy of the Vulgate Latin. Le Long notices a copy or two of this collation, richly illuminated, and still preserved in different libraries.[14] The correction of the Vulgate by Alcuin, under the

(13) Card, pp. 164—168. Butler's Lives, I. p. 406.
(14) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. pp. 237. 247. Paris, 1723, fol.

auspices of this prince, has been already mentioned. It has also been affirmed, (See Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. Tom. I. p. 373, fol.) that he ordered a version to be made of the New Testament, into the *Frankish*, or *Teutonic* tongue; but there does not appear sufficient proof to establish the fact. Charlemagne died January 28th, A. D. 814, after a reign of forty-seven, or forty-eight years, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was interred at Aix-la-Chapelle, with all the pomp of imperial magnificence. His body was embalmed, and deposited in a vault, where it was seated on a throne of gold, and clothed in imperial habits, over the sackcloth which he usually wore. By his side hung a sword, of which the hilt and the ornaments of the scabbard were of gold, and a pilgrim's purse, that he used to carry in his journeys to Rome. In his hands he held the Book of the Gospels, written in letters of gold; his head was ornamented with a chain of gold in the form of a diadem, in which was inclosed a piece of the wood of the true cross; and his face was covered with a winding-sheet. His sceptre and buckler, formed entirely of gold, and which had been consecrated by Pope Leo III, were suspended before him; and his sepulchre was closed and sealed, after being filled with various treasures, and perfumes. A gilded arcade was erected over the place with the following inscription.

Sub hoc conditorio situm est corpus KAROLI MAGNI atque Orthodoxi Imperatoris, qui regnum Francorum nobiliter ampliavit, et per annos XLVII. Feliciter rexit. Decessit Septuagenarius, anno ab Incarnatione Domini.

DCCCXIV. Indictione VII.

V. Kal. Februarias.[15]

"Beneath this tomb, is placed the body of the Orthodox Emperor Charles the great, who valorously extended

(15) Memoires de Literature, IV, pp, 388, 389, Amsterdam, 1719, 12mo.

the Kingdom of the Franks, and happily governed it XLVII years. He died a Septuagenarian, February 28th, A. D. DCCCXIV."

In the eleventh century, the tomb of Charlemagne was opened by order of Otho III. when the body was stripped of its royal ornaments, which had not been in the least injured by the hand of time. The *Book of the Gospels*, written on purple vellum, in characters of gold, found in the sepulchre, continues to be kept at Aix-la-Chapelle. With this volume, the imperial sword and hunting horn were also found. The copy of the Gospels interred with the "illustrious" sovereign of the Franks, appears to have been one of those executed by his order, and corrected according to the Greek and Syriac. In the library of the church of St. Germain-des-Prez, at Paris, a Latin Bible, in 2 vols. folio, is still kept, written on vellum, which bears the date of 814.

Lambecius has also noticed several other copies of the Scriptures, written in the time of Charlemagne, and preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, amongst which are the three following: A Latin PSALTER, executed in letters of gold, by order of Charlemagne, whilst king of the Franks, and designed as a present to Pope Hadrian I. as appears by the dedicatory verses composed by the monarch himself. It is written on vellum, and forms a large octavo volume. Another Latin PSALTER, used during her life by Hildegard, wife of Charlemagne, and after her death presented by the emperor to the cathedral of Bremen in 788, where it was kept for several centuries, and annually exhibited to the venerating crowds, with the other relics deposited in that church. A copy of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT, on vellum, in folio, executed in letters of gold, and every page divided into three columns, written under the inspection, and at the expense, of Rodon, the eleventh abbot of the monastery of St. Vedast, in the province of

Artois, during the first year of his abbacy, A. D. 795.[16]

It is worthy also of remark, that GISLA, one of the daughters of Charlemagne, and the friend of Alcuin, evinced a strong attachment to the Sacred Writings. In an epistle addressed by her and Rectruda, to Alcuin, and prefixed to his commentary on John, we meet with the following passage, expressive of her high regard for the Divine Word: "After we had obtained somewhat of the delightful knowledge of the Scriptures, in which we were aided, Venerable Master, by your excellent exposition, we acknowledge that our desire daily became more ardent for these most sacred lessons; in which are contained the truths relating to the purification of the soul, the consolation of our mortality, and the hope of perpetual blessedness; and in which, according to the Psalmist, the good man meditates day and night, accounting the knowledge of them better than all the riches of the world."[17]

The name of RABANUS MAURUS, one of the pupils of Alcuin, must likewise be enrolled among the friends to Biblical literature. He was a native of Germany, and a monk of the abbey of Fulda; of which he was afterwards elected abbot. By his learning and piety he raised the celebrity of the seminary of Fulda; uniting in it, as the chief teacher, the lessons of general science to the study of the Scriptures. "As the age of his pupils permitted, or their abilities seemed to require, he instructed some in the rules of grammar, others in those of rhetoric; whilst he conducted the more advanced into the deeper researches of human and divine philosophy, freely communicating whatever they wished to learn. At the same time; they were expected to commit to writing

(16) Peignot, Repert. de Bibliograph. Speciales, p. 150. Paris, 1810, 8vo
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I, pp. 236. 247. fol. 1723.
Lambecii Comment. Biblioth. Vindob. lib. ii, ch. v. pp. 261. 295. 402

(17) Whartoni Auctarium, p. 367.

in prose or verse, the occurrences of the day."[18]

The jealousy and ingratitude of the monks, who accused him of neglecting the temporal interests of the monastery for literary pursuits, drove him for a while to the court of Louis the Meek. After a residence there of some months, he was raised to the see of Mentz, which he advanced by his virtues, as he had Fulda by his learning.[19]

At the request of the Emperor Louis, and of his son Lothaire, and of Freculf, the learned bishop of Lysieux, he compiled COMMENTARIES on most of the books of the Sacred Scriptures, collected principally from the Latin Fathers, in a regular series from Jerom to Bede. The deficiencies in the expositions of the Fathers, he supplied by his own, placing in the margin, the names of the respective authors, and marking the passages most deserving attention.[20] He was also the author of a Latin and Franco-Theotisc Glossary of the Bible, *Glossarium Latino-Theotiscum in tota Biblia Sacra Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, a copy of which is extant in the Imperial Library at Vienna. This work is the more important because it is probable, that Otfrid derived assistance from it in his Rhythmical *Harmony of the Gospels.* Among his other works are *Homilies on the Epistles and Gospels;* a treatise on the Invention of Languages, entitled *De Inventione Linguarum ab Hebræa usque ad Theodiscam;* a Latin glossary of Anatomy, *Glossæ Latino-barbaricæ de partibus humani corporis; Miscellaneous Poems; a Martyrology;* a treatise on Arithmetic, *De Computo;* and many controversial tracts, particularly against Gotteschalcus on Predestination. A list of his various works, both edited and inedited, is given in Cave's Historia Literaria, Sæc. IX.

The poems of this great man afford us instances of the

(18) Trithemius, quoted in Berington's Lit. Hist. of the Middle Ages, B. iii. p. 171.

(19) Sixt. Senensi Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iv. p. 370.

(20) Sixt. Senens. *ut sup.*

barbarous taste which prevailed in that age, in the composition of Latin poetry. Leonine verses were formed into various figures, and the ingenuity of the writer was exercised more in the variety of the forms, than in the harmony of the verses he composed. These laborious trifles assumed the different figures of men, angels, birds, quadrupeds, trees, crosses, rings, or any similar ones, according to the pleasure, or skill of the composer. An instance of which may be found in the *Bibliotheca Sancta* of Sixtus Senensis, Lib. iii. p. 225.

Homely as verses of this kind must appear to the classical reader, and whimsical as they confessedly were in their figure, they nevertheless attracted attention, and served to disseminate the rudiments of knowledge, in an age when it required the mandate of imperial, or episcopal authority, to oblige the professed teachers of religion to acquire sufficient learning to teach their flocks the creed, and the Lord's Prayer, or even to read intelligibly the usual religious offices. At such a period, not to have descended to the capacities, and barbarous prejudices, of the multitude, where it could be innocently done, might, indeed, have secured the praise of elegance and taste in composition, from contemporary, or succeeding scholars; but would not have gained the plaudit of "Well done," from him who "went about doing good," and whom, when on earth, the "common people heard with gladness."

Rabanus died about the year 856, with the general opinion, "that Italy had not seen his like, nor Germany produced his equal."[21] Mosheim says, "He may be called the great light of Germany and France, since it was from the prodigious fund of knowledge he possessed, that these nations derived principally their religious instruction."[22] Rabanus, in conjunction with Haimo and Strabus, is said to have engaged also in a translation of the Scriptures into the

(21) Trithemius, quoted in Berington's Lit. Hist. of Mid. Ages, p. 171.
(22) Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. II. p. 313.

Teutonic, or ancient *German;* but if such a version were actually completed, it is irrecoverably lost, not a single fragment of it being extant. See Le Long, Tom. I. p. 347.

Louis the *Meek*, the son and successor of Charlemagne, was, like his father, studious in the Scriptures, and the patron of Biblical scholars. It has been said that he gave it in charge to a learned *Saxon*, to translate both the Old and New Testament into the vernacular tongue of that part of his empire; this however does not appear to be correct, for although there is a rhythmical dedication to Louis, prefixed with others to the *Harmony* of Otfrid, there is no evidence that the learned monk engaged in the work at his request. Louis died in 842, and when dying, bequeathed to his son Lothaire, his crown, his sword, and a book of THE GOSPELS, richly ornamented with gold and precious stones.[23]

A Græco-Latin Psalter, of the ninth century, written in a very fair and legible hand, with the Greek in Roman characters, was sold to the Marquis of Douglas, for £110. 5s. at the late Mr. Edward's sale, in 1815.

The LIBRI EVANGELIORUM, or *Harmony* of OTFRID, alluded to above, was the arduous attempt of a pious and learned monk, to communicate to his rude countrymen, the knowledge of the principal facts and doctrines recorded in the *Four Gospels*. It is written in the *Teutonic*, or ancient *German* tongue, accompanied with a *Latin* translation; both the versions are *metrical*. It has obtained the name of an *Harmony* from being selected from the different Gospels; and is divided into five parts, the *first* of which includes the nativity and baptism of Christ, and the doctrines taught by John the Baptist; the *second* relates to the calling and instruction of his Disciples, and the signs by which the Saviour established his doctrine in the world; the *third* treats of the miracles, and proofs of the Messiahship of Christ; the *fourth* treats of the per-

(23) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 113.

spicuity of the Doctrines and Miracles of Jesus, and their reference to the Jews; the *fifth* records his Resurrection and Ascension, and points out the solemnities of a future Judgment. Two acrostical dedications are prefixed to the work, one of them addressed to the Emperor Louis, whom he styles sovereign of Germany, *Rex Orientalium Regnorum;* the other to Solomon, bishop of Costnitz, or Constance; these are followed by a prefatory epistle to Luidbert, archbishop of Mentz. The work itself is divided into two columns; the one containing the *Teutonic*, the other the *Latin* translation. In most places, the passages from which the poetic paraphrase is taken, are quoted from the Vulgate, and inserted between the columns. The following are Otfrid's Teutonic and Latin versions of the Lord's Prayer:

TEUTONIC.	LATIN.
Fater unser guato	Pater noster bone
bist Druhtin thu gimuato	es Dominus tu gratiosus
In himilon io hoher	In cœlis altissimis
Uuih si namo thiner	Sanctum sit nomen tuum
Biqueme vns thinaz richi	A dveniat nobis regnum tuum
thaz hoha himilrichi	altum illud regnum cœlorum,
Thara uuir zua io gingen	Ad id ut penetremus
ioh emmizigen thingen.	idque assiduo frequentemus.
Si uuillo thin hiar nidare,	Sit voluntas tua hic inferius
So s'er ist ufan himile.	sicut est in cœlis.
In erdu hilff vns hiare	In terra juva nos hic
So thu engilon duist nu thare.	sicut angelis facis jam illic.
Thia dagalichun zuhti,	Quotidianum panem
gib hiut vns mit ginuhti.	da hodie nobis cum satietate.
Joh follon ouh, theist mera	Atque imple etiam, quod plus est;
thines selbes lera.	tuo ipsius verbo.
Seuld bilaz uns allen	Debitum dimitte nobis omnibus
so uuir ouh duan uuollen	quod nosquoque facere volumus
Sunta thia uuir thenken,	Peccata quæ nos cogitamus
ioh emmizigen uuirken.	et continuo operamur.
Ni firlaze unsih thin uuara	Ne derelinquat nos tuum tutamen
in thes uuidaruuerten fara	in adversarii tentamine
Thaz uuir qi missi gangen	Ut nos ne aberremus
thara ana ni gifallen,	eoque ne cadamus
Losi unsih io thanana	Libera nos quoque abhinc
thaz uuir sin thine thegana,	ut nos simus tui famuli
Joh mit ginadon thinen	Et cum gratia tua
then uuenuon io hemiden, Amen.	Gehennam effugiamus. Amen.[24]

(24) Schilteri Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum, I, lib. ii. cap. xxi, p. 148. Ulmæ, 1728, fol.

The prefatory epistle to Luidbert assigns the reasons for the work, and states the difficulties Otfrid had to conquer in the prosecution of his undertaking. The following translation* will be interesting to the Biblical and philological reader:

Epistle of OTFRID the monk, to LUIDBERT.†

"To LUIDBERT, by divine grace, the most dignified archbishop of the city of Mentz, OTFRID, an unworthy man, yet by devotion a monk, and a presbyter of mean consideration, wishes always the joy of eternal life in Christ."

"IN transmitting to your most excellent prudence the style of this book, for your approbation, I think it proper, first of all, to explain to you the reasons for my presuming to write it, lest, if you should not approve of it, the minds of any of the faithful should be disposed to lay the blame of it on my presumption."

"For some time, the ears of certain most excellent men had been troubled with the sound of vain things, and their sanctity annoyed by the obscene songs of worldly people; I was, therefore, requested by some worthy brethren; and, especially, I was urged by the repeated solicitations of a venerable matron named Judith, to compose for them a part of the Gospels in *Teutonic*, in order that the singing of these words might destroy the trifling of worldly voices; and that they, being occupied with the sweetness of the Gospels, in their own language, might be able to divert their attention from the noise of vain things. To this request they added a complaint, that, whereas several of the heathen poets, as Virgil, Lucan, Ovid, &c. had celebrated the exploits of their countrymen, in their native language, and the world abounded with their

* For this translation I am indebted to the ingenious Mr. Jonathan Crowther, jun. of Frodsham, Cheshire.

† Luidbert was advanced to the archiepiscopal see, Nov. 21st, 863; and died Sept. 7th, 889. Serarius observes, he was "a truly venerable and learned man, wise, liberal, patient, humble, kind, and universally esteemed." *Schilteri Thesaurus*, I. p. 12.

volumes; and whereas several most excellent men of our own sect, as, Juvencus, Arator, Prudentius, and many others, had in the same way celebrated the miracles of Christ, yet I, though possessing the same faith, and the same grace, was too indolent to exhibit in my own language, the brilliant splendor of the Divine Words."

"Being, therefore, unable any longer to refuse this favour to their importunate charity, I have at last done it for them, not from any opinion I had of my own abilities, but because I was compelled by the requests of the brethren. Supported by the assistance of their prayers, I have composed a part of the Gospels in *Francic*,* and have intermingled here and there spiritual and moral words, in order that whoever is afraid of the difficulty of a foreign language, may understand the Sacred Word in his own language; and understanding the Law of God in his own language, may be afraid to deviate from it ever so little in his own mind. In the *first* and *last* parts of this book, I have taken a middle way between the Four Evangelists, and have inserted in its proper order what one and another has related. But in the *middle*, lest the reader should be wearied with the superfluity of words, I have omitted many things concerning the parables and miracles of Christ, and also concerning his doctrine; this, however, I have done reluctantly, not so much from weariness, (though I have very lately published it,) as from the necessity before mentioned: and so I have endeavoured to write, not in regular order as I did in the beginning, but as things occurred to my short memory. I have divided the volume into five books, of which the *first* speaks of the nativity of Christ, and ends with the baptism and doctrine of John: the *second* informs us, how, after the call of the disciples, both by certain signs, and by his famous doctrine, he was made known to the world: the *third* speaks a little of the clearness of his miracles; and

* A dialect of the Teutonic. C.

of his doctrine, as addressed to the Jews: the *fourth* tells in what manner he drew near his passion, and of his own accord suffered death for us: the *fifth* gives an account of his resurrection, his conversation afterwards with his disciples, his ascension, and the day of judgment. These, as I said before, I have divided into *five* books, (though there are only *four* of the Evangelists,) for this reason, because their *quadrate* equality sets off* the inequality of our *five* senses, and turns all the superfluities not only of our actions, but also of our thoughts, to the elevation of celestial things; and whatever we do amiss, either as it respects our *sight, smell, feeling, taste,* or *hearing,* we purge away the depravity in the remembrance of the reading of these things. Let the useless sense of *sight* then be obscured, being illuminated by the words of the Gospel;—let not the depraved *hearing* be injurious to our heart; let the *smell* and the *taste* restrain themselves from wickedness, and join themselves to the sweetness of Christ; and let the heart be always *touching,* by means of the memory, these lessons in TEUTONIC. But now the barbarism of this language, as it is uncultivated and incapable of discipline, and has never been accustomed to be taken by the regular bridle of the grammatical art, so also in many words it is difficult to be written, either because of the combination or unknown sound of the letters. Sometimes, for instance, it requires in sound three *u*'s, (as I think,) the two first consonants, and the third a vowel: sometimes I have not been able to pronounce the sound of either *a,* or *e,* or *i,* or *u,* and then I have thought it best to write the Greek γ; and yet even this letter cannot always be used in this language, which sometimes, in certain sounds, cannot easily be referred to any character at all. This language also, frequently, contrary to the usage of Latinity, makes use of the letters *k* and *z,* which grammarians will have to be superfluous letters: the *z,* I judge

* Or perhaps "fills up."

they use in this language to represent a hissing through the teeth; and the *k*, for a guttural sound, (or rather a sound in the *fauces*.) Moreover, it allows too much the figure antithesis, though not always that species of it which teachers of grammar call synalæpha, or elision; and unless those who read are aware of this, they pronounce some words rather awkwardly, sometimes retaining the letters as they are written, and at other times omitting them, after the manner of the language of the Hebrews, who are accustomed in poetry, as some say, entirely to omit and pass over some letters by way of synalæpha; not that this writing of mine is regulated by metrical exactness, but it uniformly follows the homoioteleuton, or rhyming scheme. For both in this and in the former reading, the words require a congruous and similar final sound; and for the sake of this congruity, it is proper to use the figure elision, not only between two vowels, but very often between other letters also; indeed unless this be done, the extension of the letters sounds very awkwardly. Now we shall find, on close examination, that we do the very same thing in our common conversation; for the beauty of this language requires, that those who read should use a soft and easy collision of synalœpha, and that those who write should pay regard to the homoioteleuton, that is to the similar termination of words; and sometimes the sense ought to be suspended for two, three, or four lines, in order that the reader may better understand what the words mean. Very often too, the vowels *i* and *o*, and in the same manner, other vowels, are found written together; sometimes continuing distinct vowels in sound, sometimes making only one sound, the first being taken as a consonant. Also, whereas in Latin two negatives make an affirmative, in the usage of this language they almost always make a stronger negative. Of this I have generally been aware, though I have still taken care to write according to the established mode of

common conversation. Again, the idiom of this language allowed me to regard neither number nor genders, for sometimes I have rendered by the feminine in this language, what in the Latin was masculine; and so in the same manner I have been obliged to confound the other genders. I have changed the plural number for the singular, and the singular for the plural, and have thus sometimes been found to fall into a barbarism, or solecism. I would lay down examples of these faults in Teutonic, from this book, but I wish to avoid incurring the derision of the reader. For, to see the uncultivated words of a rustic language, mingled with the smoothness of Latinity, would certainly excite his laughter; for this language is reckoned, as it were, a rustic one, not having been *polished* by writing, nor any useful art, by our own countrymen,* inasmuch as they do not, like many other nations, record the history of their predecessors, nor do they set off their exploits with a love of glory. If such a thing has ever happened, they have preferred writing in the language of other nations, that is, in Latin, or Greek: they are careful of other languages, and are not ashamed of the deformity of their own. They are afraid in other languages to transgress rule, even in a single letter, and yet in their own make mistakes at almost every word. A most astonishing thing truly! that such great men, devoted to prudence, excelling in carefulness, supported by activity, extensive in wisdom, famous for sanctity, should transfer all these excellencies to the glory of a foreign language, and have no use of writing in their own! It is fit, however, that by some means or other, whether in incorrect,

* Otfrid denies the *Teutonic language* to have been *polished* by writing, or the grammatical art, prior to his time; but not that it had been reduced to writing, though in a rude and *unpolished* manner: for in fact, Charlemagne had ordered the ancient songs to be collected and committed to writing; there also existed a translation into Teutonic of the Conversation of Christ with the woman of Samaria; and a fragment of a letter to his sister Florentina, by Isidore of Spain, who flourished near 200 years before Otfrid. *Schilter.*

or in strictly grammatical language, mankind should praise the Author of all things, who has given them the instrument of the tongue, to sound the word of his praise; who seeks not the flattery of polished words, but the pious affection of our thought; not an empty servitude, but a series of works performed with pious diligence."

"I have taken care, therefore, to send to your sagacious prudence this book for your approbation; and because my littleness was educated in time past by Rabanus, of venerable memory, formerly the worthy president of your place, I have commended it to the dignity of your presidentship, and to your equal wisdom. If it is acceptable to the regard of your sanctity, and you judge it not altogether to be rejected, let your authority grant, to the faithful, permission to use it lawfully. But if it appear improper, and like my negligence, let the same venerable and sound authority despise it. My small humility commands the matter to be determined in either case by your judgment. May the Supreme Trinity and Perfect Unity deign long to preserve you safe, and in the right way to be an universal blessing! AMEN."[25]

OTFRID was a native of Germany, and a monk of the monastery of Weissenburg in Alsace, of the order of St. Benedict. He had been the hearer, and became the disciple, of Rabanus Maurus, the celebrated abbot of Fulda. Trithemius says, "He was profoundly versed in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and extensively acquainted with literature in general; a philosopher, a rhetorician, and a famous poet; eloquent in speech, and excellent in disposition. His prose and poetical works were numerous, and have transmitted his name with honour to posterity. After the example of Charlemagne, he attempted to reduce the barbarous language of the ancient Germans to grammatical rule, and partially succeeded."

(25) Schilteri Thesaurus, I. pp. 10, 11, 12.
Maxima Biblioth. Pat, XVI. pp. 764, 765.

Besides the LIBER EVANGELIORUM, or HARMONY, he wrote a metrical *Paraphrase on the Psalms*. A MS. containing this *Paraphrase*, with the addition of a translation of the *Poetical parts of Scripture*, the *Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds*, and the *Lord's Prayer*, is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Lambecius, in his *Commentarius de augustissima Bibliotheca Cæsarea Vindobonensi*, lib. ii. p. 461, has transcribed the *first* Psalm, and the *Lord's Prayer*, from this MS. which he considers as coeval with the author. Otfrid wrote also two tracts, on the *Last Judgment*, and the *Joys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, beside a book of *Poems*, and another of *Epistles*. "He composed many others," says Trithemius, "which are now lost through the negligence of those who lived in former times, or have been erased and torn by ignorant monks."

He flourished under the Emperors Louis, Lothaire, and Charles, and died about the year 870.[26]

The best edition of Otfrid's LIBER EVANGELIORUM, or *Harmony*, is that published by Schilter in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum, Ecclesiasticarum, Civilium, Litterarium*. Ulmæ, 1728. fol. Tom. I.

A TEUTONIC *metrical* version of the Gospels has been attributed, by Beatus Rhenanus and others, to WALDO, or VALDO, bishop of Freising; but this appears to be a mistake, and to have arisen from the transcription of Otfrid's work, by the presbyter Sigebert, undertaken at the request of Waldo.[27]

Another German monk, named WALAFRID STRABUS, or STRABO, became celebrated during this century for his GLOSSA ORDINARIA. This was a *Latin* Comment on the Bible, selected, like that of Rabanus, from the expositions and sayings of the Fathers, and accompanied with the names of the respective authors; and which for several cen-

(26) Vit. Otfridi, ex Catalog. J. Trithemii,—apud Schilteri Thesaurus, I. Whartoni Auctarium, pp. 369, 370.

(27) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 125; et Whartoni Auctarium, p. 370.

turies was held in universal esteem. The author, who was a monk of Fulda, had studied under Rabanus, and been employed by him as a scribe. He afterwards was chosen abbot of Reichenau, in the diocese of Constanz, and died in 849.[28]

At a later period, ANSELM, a scholar and deacon of the church of Laon in France, who flourished at the close of the eleventh, and commencement of the twelfth century, invented the GLOSSA INTERLINEARIS, or *Interlineary Exposition*, so called from being inserted in smaller characters between the lines of the Sacred Text. It consists of brief explanations of difficult words, or sentences; an example is given from it in the *Bibliotheca Sancta* of Sixtus Senensis, lib. iii. p. 200.

The etymology and application of the terms TEXT and GLOSS, are well explained in the following remarks of a late learned antiquary.[29] "There are few who are ignorant of the sense and meaning of the word TEXT, but how it grew to signify the WORD OF GOD, many, perhaps, would be glad to know. We have it from the Romans, who, from the similitude subsisting between spinning and weaving, and the art of composing, both in verse and prose, applied to the latter several expressions proper to the former; hence Horace,

> —tenui deducta poemata filo:
> "That fine spun thread, with which our poem's wrought;"
> EP. 2. l. 225.

and Cicero *texere orationem*, and *contexere carmen*. Amongst the later Roman writers, TEXTUS occurs often in the sense of a *piece*, or *composition*, and by excellence came to denote the WORD OF GOD, just as the general word SCRIPTURA also did. But this is not all; the method of writing the Scriptures, (and some few other books,) before the art of printing was invented, was thus, as I here represent it, from an old manuscript of the New

(28) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacr. pt. ii. sec. 3. III. p. 353. edit. a Masch.
(29) Rev. S. Pegge, under signature of "Paul Gemsege,—in Selection of Curious Articles from Gent. Mag. II. p. 46.

Testament, of the Vulgate version, now before me.

MATTHEW VII. 23.

Et tunc confitebor illis quia

Nonnovit lux tenebras l. non aspicit, quas si aspiceret, tenebræ non essent.

in nullo approbavi, sed reprobavi.

nunquam novi vos. discedite a me omnes qui operamini iniquitatem.

quia non hos novit, ergo eos, qui mandata ejus custodiunt.

qui operamini, non dicit, qui operati estis, ne tollat pœnitentiam, sed qui injudicio licet non habeatis facultatem peccandi tamen habetis affectum.

"The sentences at the sides are the *gloss;* the middle, which is in larger hand, is the TEXT, and between the lines of that, is put the INTERLINEARY GLOSS, in which place a translation, or version, in some ancient manuscripts in the Cottonian and other libraries, is sometimes inserted. The TEXT here means the WORD OF GOD, as opposed to the *gloss,* both the *lateral* and the *interlineary gloss;* and because the text was usually written, as in this manuscript, in a very large and masterly hand, from thence, a large and strong hand of that sort, came to be called *Text-hand.*—By GLOSS is meant a commentary, or exposition, generally taken out of the Latin Fathers, St. Hieronyme, St. Augustin, &c. It is originally a Greek word, and at first meant a single word put to explain another, as appears from the ancient Greek and Latin *Glossaries,* but afterwards it came to signify any exposition, or larger commentary. From hence are derived our English expressions, *to put a gloss upon a thing,* that is, a favourable interpretation or construction; *gloss,* a fair shining outside; and to *glose,* to flatter."

The *Greek* commentators of this age chiefly employed themselves in forming CATENÆ, or *Chains of commentaries,* consisting entirely in collections of the explications of Scripture that were scattered up and down in the ancient writers. The more modern work of the learned POOLE, entitled *Synopsis Criticorum,* in 5 large folio volumes, is

a somewhat similar compilation; selected with judgment, and displaying the most profound erudition.

PHOTIUS, patriarch of Constantinople, who flourished about A. D. 870, was the most celebrated of his contemporaries; he wrote a *Catena* on the *Book of Psalms*, compiled from the writings of Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, &c. and a commentary upon the *Prophets*, both of which are yet extant in MS.[30] He also composed a book of *Questions*, relating to various passages of Scripture, entitled *Amphilochia*, from its having been addressed to Amphilochius, bishop of Cyzicum. These questions on the Bible are, however, interspersed with others of a philosophical and literary kind; they are also extant in MS. in different public libraries. But his most celebrated works are his *Nomocanon*, and *Myrobiblion*, or *Bibliotheca*. The *Nomocanon* is a collection which includes, under fourteen titles, all the canons acknowledged in the church from the times of the Apostles, to the seventh Œcumenic council. The *Myrobiblion*, or *Library*, is a *Review* of the works of two hundred and eighty authors, theologians, commentators, philosophers, historians, orators, physicians, and grammarians. It was undertaken at the request of his brother Tarasias, and composed whilst he was a layman, and as it seems, during an embassy at the court of Bagdat. It is one of the most precious remains of antiquity; and is the model on which the critical journals have been formed, which, in modern times, have so much engaged the learned of different nations, and contributed to the advancement of literature. An interesting account of this most learned and accomplished scholar, is given in Berington's *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, App. I. pp. 554—562. His *Myrobiblion*, or *Library*, has been several times printed, the best edition is that of And. Schottus, Rothom. fol. 1653.[31]

(30) Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. II. p. 325.
(31) See also Cave's Hist. Lit. Sæc. IX. p. 552; and Bibliog. Dict. V.

The propriety of explaining and illustrating the Sacred Scriptures by COMMENTS, has been very generally allowed, though the mode and extent of them have been various, at different periods. "At first the insertion of a *word* or *sentence* in the margin, explaining some particular word in the text, appears to have constituted the whole of the comment. Afterwards these were mingled with the text, but with such marks as served to distinguish them from the words they were intended to illustrate; sometimes the comment was *interlined* with the text; and at other times it occupied a space at the bottom of the page."

"Ancient comments, written in all these various ways, I have often seen," says Dr. A. Clarke, "and a Bible now lies before me, written probably before the time of *Wicliff*, where the glosses are all *incorporated* with the text, and only distinguished from it by a *line* underneath; the line evidently added by a later hand." The following are specimens:

Blynde men seen, croked men wandren, mesels ben maad clene, deef men heeren, deed men rysen ageyn, pore men ben taken to prechynge of the gospel, or ben maad kepers of the gospel. *Matt.* xi. 5.

Heroude tetraarcha, that is, prince of the fourth parte. *Luke* iii. 1.

"Comments written in this way, have given birth to multitudes of the *various readings* afforded by ancient MSS. for, the notes of distinction being omitted or neglected, the *gloss* was often considered as an integral part of the text, and entered accordingly by succeeding copyists."

"This is particularly remarkable in the *Vulgate*, which abounds with explanatory words and phrases, similar to those in the preceding quotations. In the *Septuagint* also, traces of this custom are easily discernible, and to this circumstance many of its *various readings* may be attri-

buted."[32] A sketch of the principal Jewish and Christian commentators, and their works, may be found in the *General Preface* to the learned commentary of Dr. A. Clarke, vol. I. pp. ii.—xvii. Lond. 1810, 4to.

Directing now our inquiries to the more *Northern* states of Europe, we learn, that in the course of the *ninth* century, many of them received the Gospel, through the pious and indefatigable labours of two Greek monks, METHODIUS, and CYRIL, brothers, and natives of Thessalonica, descended from an illustrious senatorian Roman family. CYRIL, who in early life had borne the name of *Constantine*, received his education at Constantinople, and by his great progress in learning, obtained the surname of *The Philosopher*. Remarkable also for his piety and zeal, he was promoted to the priesthood, and sent on a mission to the *Chazari*, a tribe of the Turci, the most numerous and powerful nation of the Huns, in European Scythia. Already acquainted with the Slavonian, Greek, and Latin languages, he seems to have learned also the Turcic, which was at that time spoken by the Huns, Chazari, and Tartars. After having accomplished the object of his mission, he returned to Constantinople, absolutely refusing to accept any part of the great presents with which the prince of the Chazari would have honoured him.

Cyril's second mission was to the *Bulgarians*, a nation of the Slavi, who had possessed themselves of the ancient Mysia and Dacia, now Walachia, Moldavia, and part of Hungary; in this mission, his brother METHODIUS, a monk, was his chief assistant. From Bulgaria, our two missionaries passed into Moravia, being invited thither by Rastices, who had received the crown of Moravia, from Louis, king of Germany, in 846. Stridowski, in his *Sacra Moraviæ Historia*, styles Cyril and Methodius the apostles of Moravia, Upper Bohemia, Silesia, Cazaria, Croatia, Circassia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Russia, Dalmatia, Pannonia,

(32) Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary, *Gen. Pref.* pp. i, ii.

Dacia, Carinthia, Carniola, and almost all the Slavonian nations.[33]

For the more effectual promotion of the sacred work in which they were engaged, these two indefatigable and judicious missionaries translated the SCRIPTURES, and the LITURGY of the church, into the SLAVONIAN tongue. For this purpose they invented an alphabet, principally formed from the Greek capitals, and gave to each letter of the alphabet, the name of a word beginning with the letter. These characters are usually termed, from one of the inventors, *Cyrillian*; and the alphabet, the *Servian* or ancient *Russian*. (See plate 1.) About the year 880, Pope John VIII. addressed an epistle to a Slavonian prince, in which he observes, "We approve of the Slavonian letters invented by the philosopher Constantine; and we order that the praises of Christ may be published in that language. It is not contrary to the faith, to employ it in the public prayers of the church, and in reading the Holy Scriptures. He who made the three principal tongues, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, made the rest also for his own glory. Nevertheless, to shew the more respect to the Gospel, let it first be read in the Latin, and then in the Slavonian, for the sake of the people who understand not Latin; and according to the practice of some other churches, &c."

Of the importance of the Slavonian translation, some idea may be formed from the various dialects of the *Slavonian* tongue enumerated by Reland, in his *Dissertationes Miscell.* Pars III. He has, at the end of that work, given the Lord's Prayer in the following dialects of the Slavonian, viz. *Cyrillic, Bulgaric, Dalmatic, Croatic, Slavonic, Bohemic, Polonic, Vandalic, Lusatic, Muscovitic or Russic, Carniolic, Nova-Zemblic, Walachic.*[34] Cyril died about

(33) Butler's Lives, Dec. 22. XII. pp. 287—300.

(34) Bacmeister, Essai sur la Bibliotheque &c. de St. Petersbourg, p. 5. 1776, 8vo.
Relandi Dissert. Miscell. pt. iii. Traject-ad Rhenum, 1708, 12mo.
Jortin's Remarks on Eccl. Hist. III. p. 104. Lond. 1805, 8vo.

A. D. 870. Methodius lived to an advanced age, but the year of his death is uncertain.

The MS. of the *Slavonian* or *Russian* version, supposed to be the oldest now extant, is one of the New Testament, written in the time of the Grand Duke Wladimir, in the *tenth* century, and which was used in the Ostrog edition of the Bible, printed in 1581, in folio, at the expense of Constantine, prince of Volhinia, a copy of which is in the valuable library of Earl Spencer. But the most ancient MS. of the *whole* Slavonian Bible, is probably one preserved in the library of the Holy Synod, written in the year 1499, in the time of the Grand Duke Ivan Wasiljewitsh. The oldest printed edition of the Slavonian Scriptures, and the first book printed in the language, is the PENTATEUCH, in 4to. It was translated by FRANCIS SCORINO, a physician, and printed at Prague in 1519, on good paper, in beautiful Cyrillian characters, and with few or no abbreviations. The second page of the title is ornamented, or rather *disgraced*, with a representation of angels combating with infernal spirits; above them the Holy Trinity, under the form of an old man with three faces, lifting up his hand as if to bless them, whilst the angels offer him crowns. There is a preface to each book; and a summary of contents to each chapter. The chapters are not divided into verses. The whole is adorned with wood cuts, capitals, and vignettes. SCORINO was also the author of a PARAPHRASE on CHRONICLES; and of a translation of the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, which was printed at Wilna, in 1517, in 8vo. The famous Socinian, Budny, made use of Scorino's version when translating the Bible into the *Polish* tongue. Methodius and Cyril translated from the Greek of the Septuagint; Scorino from the Vulgate Latin.[35]

(35) Baemeister, Essai sur la Bibliotheque &c. de l' Academie des Sciences de Saint Petersbourg, pp. 91—94.
Marsh's Michaelis II. pt. i. ch. vii. p. 154.

The *first* book printed at *Moscow*, was the ACTS and EPISTLES OF THE APOSTLES, in 1654, in the time of the Czar Ivan Wasilovitsch. The characters and paper are excellent, the latter was probably obtained from England; since in this undertaking, the Czar applied to those nations who were most capable of affording him aid and instruction in the establishment of printing in his dominions. In the library of the Academy of Sciences at Petersburg, a copy of this rare edition is preserved, which a soldier found by chance, and presented to the academy in 1730. At the end of the volume, is the following mandate of the Czar, relating the principal circumstances that led to the printing of this edition.

"BY the will of the FATHER, the assistance of the SON, and the operation of the HOLY SPIRIT.—By order of the orthodox Czar and Grand Duke of all the Russias, Ivan Wasilovitsch; and by the benediction of Macar, the most venerable metropolitan of all the Russias, many churches have been erected in Moscow, and its environs; and in all the cities of Russia, but chiefly in the city of Casan, and in the country round about, which have been lately enlightened. These churches, the orthodox Czar has ornamented with venerable images, sacred books, moveables, and vestments, and other things belonging to public worship, according to the traditions and rules of the Apostles and blessed Fathers, and the ordinances of the Greek emperors of blessed memory, who have reigned at Constantinople, Constantine the Great, Justinian, Michael, Theodore, and other pious princes. The orthodox Czar and Grand Duke of all the Russias, commanded also the Sacred Books, such as the PSALMS, the GOSPELS, the ACTS, and EPISTLES OF THE APOSTLES, and many others, to be purchased at the public marts, and distributed to the churches; but very few could be found that were correct, and fit for use; the others being falsified and disfigured, by the ignorance and inaccuracy of the copyists. Of

this, the Czar had scarcely been informed, before he thought of the means of causing books to be printed, in his states, similar to those in Greece, at Venice, in Phrygia, or among other nations, in order to possess more correct copies of the Sacred books; and having declared his intention to the most venerable metropolitan of all the Russias, the holy man rejoiced exceedingly, gave thanks to God, and assured the Czar that he regarded the thought as a gift from Heaven. Inquiry was accordingly made respecting the manner of printing, by order of the Czar, and under the benediction of the metropolitan, in the year of the world 7061, (A. D. 1553,) and the 31st of his reign. The orthodox Czar afterwards caused a house to be builded at his own proper charge, designed for the printing; and advanced a sum out of the public treasury to the workmen Ivan Fedor, deacon of the church of the miraculous, Nicholas de Gostun, and Peter Timofeew Motislavzov, sufficient for the expenses of the printing, and for their own support until the work should be finished. The impression of the present book, which contains the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, the CATHOLIC EPISTLES, and those of St. PAUL, was begun on the 19th of April, the anniversary of the blessed Father Ivan Palevret, in the year of the world 7071, (A. D. 1563;) and was completed on the 1st of March, in the year of the world 7072, (A. D. 1564,) being the first of the ministry of the Archbishop and Metropolitan Athanasius; in honour of the all-powerful and quickening Trinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."[36]

The whole Bible, from the version of Methodius and Cyril, was printed at Ostrog, 1581, fol. and again at Moscow, 1663, fol. The *Slavonian*, or ancient Russian, is still the authorised version of the Russian church, though scarcely intelligible to the common people.

Reverting to the occurrences of the ninth century, Eng-

(36) Bacmeister, *ut sup.* pp. 98—101.

land claims our attention. ALFRED, justly surnamed the *Great*, a prince not inferior in talent to Charlemagne, and infinitely his superior in piety, and suavity of manners, ascended the throne in 871. Born when his country was involved in the most profound darkness, and deplorable confusion; and when learning was considered rather as a reproach, than an honour, to a prince, he was not taught to know one letter from another, till he was above twelve years of age, when a book was put into his hand by a kind of accident, more than by previous design. Judith, his step-mother, was sitting one day surrounded by her family, with a book of Saxon poetry in her hands. As Aldhelm and Caedmon had written poems of great popularity, it might contain some of theirs. With a happy judgment, she proposed it as a gift to him who would soonest learn to read it. The elder princes thought the reward inadequate to the task, and retired from the field of emulation. But the mind of Alfred, captivated by the prospect of information, and pleased with the beauty of the writing, and the splendour of the illuminations, inquired if she actually intended to give it to the person who would soonest learn it. His mother repeating the promise, with a smile of joy at the question, he took the book, found out an instructor, and learned to read it; recited it to her, and received it for his reward. Religion continued the stimulus which the pleasures of poetry had first created. He made a collection of the devout offices for the day, with prayers, and psalms adapted to pious meditation; and always carried this treasure in his bosom for perpetual use.[37]

Difficulties were, however, thrown in the way of Alfred's acquisition of learning, which, to a mind less vigorous than his, would have been deemed insurmountable. For not only was his kingdom for many years the seat of war, during which he is said to have fought in person, fifty-six

(37) Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, 1. B. ii. ch. viii. p. 193.

battles, by sea and land; but at that time few or none among the West-Saxons had any learning, or could so much as read with propriety and ease; and when he had attained the age of maturity, he became subject to a disease, which incessantly tormented him, and which his physicians could neither remedy nor explore. But his ardent thirst for knowledge surmounted every obstacle, and in 887, he obtained the happiness he had long coveted, of reading the Latin authors in their original language; and even became a profound scholar for those times, a grammarian, a rhetorician, a philosopher, an historian, a musician, the prince of *Saxon* poesy, and an excellent architect and geometrician.[38]

One of the principal features of Alfred's useful life was his ardent piety; and it forms a shining trait in his character, that an author, who lived at the period of the Norman conquest, in mentioning some of the preceding kings, with short appropriate epithets, names him with the simple, but expressive addition of "THE TRUTH TELLER." He was accustomed daily to attend divine service, especially the eucharist; making use also of prayers and psalms in private. He kept the established hours of prayer, being every third hour, both night and day; and frequently entered the churches *secretly in the night for prayer*, after lamenting with sighs his want of more acquaintance with divine wisdom. He used also, with careful solicitude, to hear the Scriptures of GOD from the recitations of natives, or even, (if by chance any arrived from abroad,) to hear prayers equally from foreigners. Asser, the bishop of St. David's, the friend and biographer of Alfred, speaking of his own reception and attendance at the court of Alfred, says, "I was honourably received in the royal city of Leonaford, and that time staid eight months in his court. I translated and read to him whatever books he wished, which were within our reach;

(38) Spelman's Life of Ælfred the Great, p. 210. Oxford, 1709, 8vo.

for it was his peculiar and perpetual custom, day and night, amidst all his afflictions of mind and body, either to read books himself, or to have them read to him by others."[39] Some of the last instructions of Alfred to his son Edward have been preserved, and deserve to be quoted for their pathetic simplicity, and genuine piety, their political wisdom, and the proof which they afford of his anxiety for the welfare of his subjects.

"Thus, quoth Alfred, worldly wealth at last cometh to the worms, and all the glory of it to the dust, and our life is soon gone. And though one had the rule of all this middle world, and of the wealth in it, yet should he keep his life but a short while. All thy happiness would, but work thy misery, unless thou couldst purchase thee CHRIST. Therefore when we lead our lives as God hath taught us, we then best serve ourselves. For then be assured that he will support us; for so said Solomon, that wise man; well is he that doth good in this world, for at last he cometh where he findeth it."

"Thus, quoth Alfred; My dear son, set thee now beside me, and I will deliver thee true instructions. My son, I feel that my hour is coming, my countenance is wan. My days are almost done. We must now part. I shall go to another world, and thou shalt be left alone in all my wealth. I pray thee, (for thou art my dear child,) strive to be a father, and a lord to thy people; be thou the children's father, and the widow's friend; comfort thou the poor, and shelter the weak; and with all thy might, right that which is wrong. And, son, govern thyself by law, then shall the Lord love thee, and God above all things shall be thy reward. Call thou upon him to advise thee in all thy need, and so he shall help thee the better to compass that which thou wouldst."[40]

(39) See Asser, as cited by Turner, in Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, I. p. 293; Whitaker in Life of St. Neot, p. 161; and also Turner's Anglo-Saxons, I. ch. ii. p. 309.

(40) Spelman's Life of Ælfred the Great, pp. 130, 131.

No sovereign ever studied the public interest more than Alfred. He seems to have considered his life but as a trust, to be used for the benefit of his people; and his plans for their welfare were intelligent and great. He fought their battles, regulated the administration of justice, compiled a body of laws, corrected the abuses of the realm, extended their commercial relations and knowledge by an embassy to India, cultivated the arts and sciences, established public seminaries for the education of youth, and was the munificent patron of religion and learning. To him Englishmen are indebted for the TRIAL BY JURY, for the foundation of their COMMON LAW, and for the division of the kingdom into HUNDREDS and TYTHINGS; and the sentiment expressed by him in his will, will never be forgotten: "IT IS JUST THAT THE ENGLISH SHOULD FOR EVER REMAIN FREE AS THEIR OWN THOUGHTS."[41]

Stimulated by a laudable anxiety for the mental and moral improvement of his subjects, Alfred searched his dominions for men of literary attainments, invited learned foreigners to his court, and munificently rewarded the exertions of their talents. He also added the powerful influence of his own example, by composing a variety of poems, fables, and apt stories; and by translating into the Anglo-Saxon, then the vernacular language of the kingdom, the *Consolation of Philosophy*, by Boëtius, the *Histories* of Arosius and Bede, and the *Pastorals* of Gregory. To this last mentioned work, he prefixed a prefatory epistle to Wulfsig, bishop of London, which deserves to be transcribed; the following is Spelman's literal translation:

"ÆLFRED, King, wisheth Greeting to Wulfsig, bishop, his beloved and friendlike, and thee to know, I wish, that to me it cometh very often in mind, what manner of wise men long ago were throughout the English nation, both of the spiritual degree, and of the temporal, and

(41) Russel's Hist. of Modern Europe, I. pp. 102 104.

how happy the times then were among all the English, and how the kings, which then the goverment had of the people, God, and his written will obeyed, how well they behaved themselves both in war and peace; and in their home government, how their nobleness was spread abroad, and how they prospered in knowledge and in wisdom. Also the Divine Orders, how earnest they were, as well about preaching, as about learning, and about all the services that they should do to God; and how men from abroad, wisdom and doctrine here in this land sought, and how we the same now must get abroad if we would have them. So dear has learning fallen among the English nation, as that there has been very few on this side the *Humber*, that were able to understand the English of their service, or turn an epistle from Latin into English; and I wot there were not many beyond the *Humber* that could do it. There were so few as that I cannot bethink me of one on the south side of the *Thames*, when I first came to reign. God Almighty be thanked that we have ever a teacher in pulpit now. Therefore, I pray thee, that thou do, (as also I believe thou wilt,) that thou that wisdom, that God has given thee, bestow all about on them thou canst bestow it; think what punishment shall for this world befall us, when as neither we ourselves have loved wisdom, nor left it to others; we have only loved the names that we were Christians, and very few of us the duties. When I minded all this, methought also that I saw, (before all was spoiled and burnt,) how all the churches throughout the English nation stood filled with books and ornaments, and a great multitude of God's servants; and at that time they wist very little fruit of their books, because they could understand nothing of them for that they were not written in their own language. So they told us, that our ancestors, that before us held those places loved wisdom, and through the same got wealth, and left it to us. A man may here yet see their swath but

we cannot inquire after it, because we have let go both wealth and wisdom; for that we would not stoop with our minds to the seeking of it. When I thought of all this, then wondred I greatly that their godly wise men, that were every where throughout the English nation, and had fully learned all those books, would turn no part of them into their own language; but I then again quickly answered myself, and said, they weened not that ever men should become so reckless, nor that this learning would so decay, therefore they willingly let it alone, and wot that here would be the more wisdom in the land, the more languages that we understood. Then I called to mind how that the LAW was first found written in the *Hebrew* speech; and after that the *Greeks* had learned it, then turned they it into their own speech wholly, and also all other books. And then the *Latin* people, a little after they had learned it, they translated all through wise interpreters into their own language; and all other Christian people also have turned some part thereof into their own tongue. Therefore methinketh it better, if you so think, that we also some books, that be deemed most needful for all men to understand, into that language turn, that we all know; and that we bring to pass (as we easily may, with God's help, if we have quietness) that all the youth of free-born Englishmen, (such as have wealth that they may maintain them) be committed to learning, that, while they no other note can, they first learn well to read English writing, afterward let men further teach in the *Latin* tongue those that they will further teach and have to a higher degree. When I minded how this learning of the Latin tongue heretofore was fallen throughout the English nation, though many skill to read English writing, then began I, among divers and manifold businesses of this kingdom, to turn into English that book which in Latin is named *Pastoralis*, and in English, the *Herd-man's Book*, sometimes word for word, sometimes

understanding for understanding, even as I learned them of Plegmond my archbishop, of Asser my bishop, and Grimbald my mass-priest, and John my mass-priest. After that I had learned of them how I might best understand them, I turned them into English, and will send one to each bishop's see in my kingdom: and upon each there is a *Style*,* that is of fifty marks; and I command in

* Various meanings have been affixed to the Saxon word ÆSTEL, which is here translated *Style*. Mr. Wise and Dr. Pegge support the adoption of the term *Style*, an instrument which they conceive was chiefly designed, in the present case, for the use of the master or teacher, to whom it might be subservient in a double capacity; that is, both for writing, and by way of *indicatorium*, or *festuca*; and, supposing the books to have been written with a pen, they apprehend the latter use accounts very well for their being accompanied by a *stylus*, or *style*; though they affirm, that waxen table-books were not yet grown into disuse: and in reply to the objection, that these *styli* could not be worth fifty *mancussæ* a-piece, or £18. 15, of our present money, Dr. Pegge remarks that the handles of them might be enriched, in the materials and workmanship to almost any sum; and that the king might be desirous of exciting his subjects, by this extraordinary act of liberality, to the love of learning, and conjectures that a curious jewel of gold, enamelled like a bulla or amulet to hang round the neck, circumscribed in Saxon characters ÆLFRED MEC HEHT GEWYRCAN, *Alfred caused me to be made*, which was found in the Isle of Althelney, formed the handle of one of these styli. This jewel is engraved in Hickes's Thesaurus, I. p. 142. See *Pegge on the Æstel in the Archæologia*, II. pp. 68—74. 4to.

Mr. Hearne and Dr. Milles controvert this translation, and observe, that the *styli* were usually implements of small value, made either of iron or bone, or some such cheap materials; that in Alfred's time vellum had taken place of waxen tablets, and consequently pens succeeded to styles; to which Dr. Milles adds, that, supposing waxen tablets not to have been entirely laid aside, it was, nevertheless, very improbable that they would have been used for so many copies of a book, when they might have been written in a more convenient and durable manner, by ink on vellum; and the more so as it was not usual to commit things of great importance to these tablets, but only such as were in common and daily use; and that a stylus was superfluous, when no addition nor alteration was to be made in the work. Mr. Hearne's idea of the *Æstel*, in which he is supported by Dr. Milles, is, that it was the *umbilicus* of the volume on which this book was written, or rather, the two handles or knobs at the extremities, like those affixed to our modern maps, (see frontispiece) by the means of which the volume was to be rolled up or opened; and on which each copy of the book was sent to the respective cathedrals. In this sense of the word, the æstel was a very proper, and indeed a necessary appendage of the book, and it adds great propriety to the King's request, "that no one would take the æstel from the book;" which, if they had been tempted to do, by the value of this ornament, they would have

God's name, that no man the style from the books, nor the books from the minster take, seeing we know not how long there shall be so learned bishops, as now, God be thanked, every where there are. Therefore I would they should always remain in their places, except the bishop will have them with him, or that they be lent somewhither until that some other be written out."

The last literary work in which this excellent monarch engaged, was a translation of the PSALMS of DAVID into ANGLO-SAXON, which, however, he did not live to finish, but which was afterwards completed by another hand. This translation appears to have been part of a princely design to translate the whole of the Old and New Testaments into the vernacular tongue, for the general benefit of his subjects. The old Chronicle of Ely affirms this to have been done; and *Boston* of *Bury* says "Totum fere Testamentum in linguam Anglicanum transtulit;—He translated the whole of the Testament into the English tongue." Spelman endeavours to reconcile these varying accounts by supposing that "the king began with the

deprived the volume, not only of its beauty, but in some measure also, of its use. Mr. Hearne also justifies the use of this word from Chaucer, who, in the letter of Cupide, calls a handle, a *stele*, or *stail*, as it is still used in the northern parts of England,

"And when that man the pan hath by the stele."

He further supposes, that this handle might be magnificently chased and carved, like the jewel of Alfred, mentioned by Hickes. Dr. Milles, however, thinks there is no necessity for such a supposition, since the value of six pounds three ounces in silver, or the weight of seven ounces and a half in gold, might easily be worked up in forming the *umbilicus*, or rather the two handles at the extremities of it, without the additional expense of sculpture and ornament. For by these mancussæ, all the ornaments and furniture of gold amongst the Saxons were weighed, a mancussa, weighing about sixty-eight troy grains, and equiponderant with three Saxon pennies. Dr. M. thinks that there is no other ground for the supposition, that the jewel of Alfred might have been the top or extremity of the æstel, than that they were both the property of the same king; and that there is no analogy between the shape of that jewel and that of a stylus or manubrium to the book, and that the weight of it, which was about one ounce and five-eighths, does not at all coincide with the weight of the æstel. (Leland's *Itinerary*, VII. pp. xix.—xxii. *Archæologia*, II. pp. 75—79.

Alfreds Psalter

Cl. ORATIO
PAUPERIS DAVID CUM
AD NATUS FUERIT
CORAM DNO ETEFFŸ
SERIT PRECEM SUAM
ȝehyp ȝehed
eraudi ȝratione
mín chpons mun
meam & clamor meus
to þe becume
adte uenat.

Saxon Alphabet AaBbCcDdEeFfGgHhIiKkLlMmNnOoPpRrSsTtÞþPpUuVvXxYyZz
Irish Do ꝺaḃbCcḋḋEeFfGgHhIiLlMmNnOoPpRrSsTtUu

arange Sculp Munich

most principal, and translated the New Testament first, and that done, he set upon the Old Testament, and so as his time served him he went on, till (as he was going through the PSALMS) his work was interrupted by his death."[42] But the testimonies of Asser, and William of Malmsbury, are too express to be superseded by more modern ones, unless supported by corroborating circumstances, which, however, is not the case; on the contrary, it is a probable conjecture, that if Alfred had completed a translation of even any detached book of the Sacred Volume, he would have taken the same method to preserve and publish it for the religious benefit of his subjects, as he did with his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral*, by sending copies to every bishop's see in the kingdom, to be kept in the cathedrals. It may be further added, that if Alfred had translated all, or most of the books of the Bible, there would have been little or no need for Ælfric, abbot of Winchester, and others to have undertaken the translations which he completed in the following century. A *Latin Psalter*, with an interlineary *Saxon* version, formerly belonging to Alfred, and probably written by an Italian scribe, was in the possession of the late learned antiquary, Mr. Astle, who has an engraved facsimile of it, in Plate XIX. No. 6, of his *Origin and Progress of Writing*; and from which, Plate 4, of this work is copied.

This extraordinary prince; "this victorious warrior; this sagacious statesman; this friend of distress; this protector against oppression; who, in an age of ignorance, loved literature, and diffused it; who, in an age of superstition, could be rationally pious; and in the station of royalty could discern his faults, and convert them into virtues; was called away from the world, on the 26th day of October, in the year 900, or 901."[43] He died at the age of fifty-two, after a life, literally a life of disease.

(42) Spelman's Life of Ælfred the Great, pp. 212, 213.
(43) Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, I. B. iv. ch. v. p. 281.

The ficus molested him severely in his childhood. This, after many years, disappeared; but, at the age of twenty, was replaced by another of the most tormenting nature, probably an internal cancer. Its seat was internal and invisible, but its agony was incessant. Such was the dreadful anguish it perpetually produced, that if for one short hour it happened to intermit, the dread and horror of its inevitable return, poisoned the little interval of ease. The skill of his Saxon physicians was unable to detect its nature, or alleviate its pain. Alfred had to endure it unrelieved. It is not amongst the least admirable circumstances, therefore, of this great prince, that he withstood the fiercest hostilities that ever distressed a nation, cultivated literature, discharged his public duties, and executed all his schemes for the improvement of his people, amid a perpetual agony, so horrible, that it would have disabled a common man from the least exertion."[44]

To the endeavours of Alfred to promote literature among his subjects, we probably owe the celebrated RUSHWORTH GLOSS, so called because it formerly belonged to John Rushworth, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, though it is now deposited in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. It contains the FOUR GOSPELS in *Latin*, written in a large hand, similar to that of the Durham-book, and probably about the same time; and over each line of the *Latin*, is a corresponding one of *Saxon*, written in the ninth or tenth century. At the conclusion of St. Matthew's Gospel, these words are added, "Farmen, Presbyter thas boc thus gleosode," *Farman, Presbyter, this book thus glossed.* And at the end of the volume, "The min bruche, gibidde fore Owun the thas boc gloesede, Farmen thæm preoste æt Harawuda," *He that of mine profiteth, bead* (pray) *he for Owen, that this book glossed, and Farman, the priest at Harewood.* After this follow, in Saxon characters, these words, "Macregol dipinxit

(44) Turner, *ut sup.* B. v. ch. iii. p. 331.

hoc euangelium quicumque legerit et intellegerit istam narrationem orat pro Macreguil scriptori; *Macregol delineated this Gospel: whoever hath read and understood its recital, pray he for Macregol, the writer.*" From the volume itself, therefore, we are informed that the Saxon version was the joint production of Farman and Owen, and that Macregol was the scribe, and its decorator. Its ornaments consist of delineations of the Four Evangelists, and divers coloured initial letters. The volume is in a small degree imperfect, wanting a few leaves at the beginning.[45]

In 1807, the Rev Samuel Henshall, A. M. Rector of St. Mary, Stratford Bow, Middlesex, published the *Gospel of St. Matthew* from the Durham-book, in a work entitled, "The Etymological Organic Reasoner," and afterwards published it with the Gothic Gospel of St. Matthew, under the title of "The Gothic Gospel of St. Matthew, from the Codex Argenteus of the Fourth Century; with the corresponding English or Saxon, from the Durham-book." 1807, 8vo. In this work he has given the various readings of the *Rushworth Gloss*.

(45) Baber's Saxon and English Versions, prefixed to Wiclif's New Testament, p, lx.
Henshall's Gothic Gospel, p. 64.

CHAPTER VIII.

TENTH CENTURY.

Scarcity of Books. Feast of the Ass. Ordeal. Scriptoria. Antiquarii. Calligraphy. Bruno. Gerard de Groot. Thomas à Kempis. Value of Books. Superb Bindings. Athelstan. Edgar's Canons. Ælfric. Saxon Gospels. German Versions. Arabic Version. Celebrated Jews.

THE TENTH century, which presents one of the darkest periods of the Christian era, was an age of the profoundest ignorance, and of the most degraded superstition. Some, who filled the highest situations in the church could not so much as read; while others, who pretended to be better scholars, and attempted to perform the public offices, committed the most egregious blunders. In Spain books, were become so scarce, that one and the same copy of the BIBLE, St. Jerom's epistles, and some volumes of ecclesiastical offices, and martyrologies, served several different monasteries: and in the famous monastery of Iona, there seems to have been, in the ninth century, no other work, even of the Fathers, than one of the writings of Chrysostom. *Gennadius*, a Spanish bishop, by his will bearing date A. D. 953, bequeathed about 16 volumes of books, to certain religious houses, with the express condition, that no abbot should be permitted to transfer them to any other place, but that they should be kept for the monks of the monasteries specified in the will, who should accommodate each other as much as possible, in the use of them. The will is subscribed by the king and queen, as well as by bishops, and other persons of rank.[1]

(1) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. Dissert. 2.
Jamieson's Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees, p. 316.
Mabillon, Annales, III. lib. xli. p. 351.

Of the deplorable state of religion, and of the wretched superstition that reigned in this and several succeeding centuries, no other proof need be adduced than that of the FEAST OF THE ASS, celebrated in several churches in France, in commemoration of the *Virgin Mary's flight into Egypt*. This festival was celebrated at Beauvais, on the 14th of January. They chose a beautiful young woman, whom they richly attired, and placed a lovely infant in her arms. She then mounted an ass richly caparisoned, and rode in procession, followed by the bishop and clergy, from the cathedral to the church of St. Stephen, where she was placed near the altar, and high mass commenced. Instead, however, of the usual responses by the people, they were taught to imitate the braying of the ass; and at the conclusion of the service, the priest, instead of the usual words with which he dismissed the people, *brayed* three times, and the people *brayed* or uttered the imitative sounds *Hinham, Hinham, Hinham!* During the ceremony, the following ludicrous composition, half Latin, half French, was sung with great vociferation, in praise of the ass:

	TRANSLATION.
Orientis partibus	From the country of the East
Adventavit asinus;	Came this strong and handsome beast:
Pulcher et fortissimus,	This able ass beyond compare,
Sarciuis aptissimus.	Heavy loads and packs to bear.
Hez, Sire Asnes, car chantez;	Now, Seignior Ass, a noble bray;
Belle bouche rechignez;	That beauteous mouth at large display;
Vous aurez du foin assez	Abundant food our hay-lofts yield,
Et de l' avoine à plantez.	And oats abundant load the field.
Lentus erat pedibus,	True it is, his pace is slow,
Nisi foret baculus;	Till he feel the quick'ning blow;
Et eum in clunibus	Till he feel the urging goad,
Pungeret aculeus.	On his buttock well bestow'd.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.	Now, Seignior Ass, &c.
Hic in collibus Sichem,	He was born on Shechem's hill;
Jam nutritus sub Ruben;	In Reuben's vales he fed his fill;
Transiit per Jordanem,	He drank of Jordan's sacred stream,
Saliit in Bethlehem.	And gamboled in Bethlehem.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.	Now, Seignior Ass, &c.
Ecce magnis auribus!	See that broad majestic ear!
Subjugalis filius;	Born he is the yoke to wear:
Asinus egregius,	All his fellows he surpasses!

Asinornm dominus!
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c. *

He's the very lord of asses!
Now, Seignior Ass, &c.

Saltu vincit hinnulos,
Damas et capreolos,
Super dromedarios
Velox Madianeos.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.

In leaping he excels the fawn;
The deer, the colts upon the lawn;
Less swift the dromedaries ran,
Boasted of in Midian.
Now, Seignior Ass, &c.

Aurum de Arabia,
Thus et myrrham de Saba,
Tulit in ecclesia
Virtus asinaria.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.

Gold from Araby the blest,
Seba myrrh, of myrrh the best,
To the church this ass did bring:
We his sturdy labours sing.
Now, Seignior Ass, &c.

Dum trahit vehicula
Multa cum sarcinula,
Illius mandibula
Dura terit pabula
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.

While he draws the loaded wain,
Or many a pack, he don't complain;
With his jaws, a noble pair,
He doth craunch his homely fare.
Now, Seignior Ass, &c.

Cum aristis hordeum
Comedit et carduum;
Triticum à palea
Segregat in area.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.

The bearded barley and its stem,
And thistles, yield his fill of them:
He assists to separate,
When its thresh'd, the chaff from wheat:
Now, Seignior Ass, &c.

Amen, dicas, asine,*
Jam satur de gramine:
Amen, amen, itera;
Aspernare vetera.
Hez va! hez va! hez va hez!
Bialx Sire Asnes car allez;
Belle bouche car chantez.[2]

Amen! bray most honoured ass,
Sated now with grain and grass;
Amen, repeat, Amen reply,
And disregard antiquity.[3]

The final chorus, as given by Du Cange, is certainly an imitation of asinine *braying;* and when performed by the whole congregation, must have produced a most inharmonious symphony.

M. Millin has published an account of this festival, as practised in the cathedral of Sens, in the thirteenth century. The details are taken from a MS. missal of that church, now kept in the town library; originally composed by Pierre Corbeil, archbishop of Sens, who died June 1222. The MS. is said to be beautifully written, and the cover of it to be ornamented with representations of all the operations of vintage, and other

* Here he is made to bend his knees.

(2) Du Cange, Glossarium, v. *Festum.*

(3) Literary Panorama, II. pp. 585—588; and VII. pp. 716—718.

analagous mythological subjects. At the time the missal was written, the ceremonies were become entirely bacchanalian and impious. The priests were besmeared with lees of wine; and entered the choir dancing, and singing obscene songs: the deacons and subdeacons profaned the altar by eating in the filthiest manner, and playing cards upon it, whilst the priest was celebrating mass: pieces of old shoes were put into the censer, and burnt instead of incense; and the deacons and their companions were afterwards carried through the streets in carts, practising various indecencies. For several days, the most disgusting and extravagant actions were continued, and riot, drunkenness, and wanton singing universally prevailed both among clergy and laity.

Attempts were made at different periods to suppress these sottish superstitions, but unfortunately without success. Mauritius, bishop of Paris, who died in 1196, laboured to abolish them, but the missal already noticed, which appears to have been drawn up *ex officio*, shews how completely he failed. In 1245, Odo, bishop of Sens, prohibited the offensive disguises, and repressed some of the mummeries and licentiousnesses which had become part of this festival; but did not remove the whole, for, in 1444, the Faculty of Theology, at the request of several bishops, wrote to all the prelates and chapters to abolish this custom. It is nevertheless evident by the acts of the Council held in 1460, that the grossnesses merely of this ceremony were retrenched: the council forbids caricature habits, false and uncouth singing, and orders, that on the *precentor of the fools*, as he was called on this occasion, *not more than three pails of water, at most, should be thrown*, and on the other naked men, *only one pail each*, and that not *within the church:* the other ceremonies, if practised out of the church, were permitted. From so gentle a remonstrance, it could not be expected that the festival would be materially checked; and we are not sur-

prised to learn that it was officially permitted by acts of the chapter of Sens, in 1514 and 1517. Still later permissions are found, but with gradual prohibition of indecencies, till, at length, it ceased towards the end of the sixteenth century.[4]

This ridiculous festival was not limited to France; Michaelis, who supposes that annual fairs originated in the conventions of the people for religious purposes, conjectures that one of the German annual fairs, denominated *Missen*, from the *Masses* formerly said at those times, owed its rise to some ceremony of this kind. The fair is held on the Wednesday after Easter, near *Querfurt*, in the place called the *Asses-Meadow*.[5] In England, Robert Grosseteste, or Greathead, bishop of Lincoln, in the 11th century, ordered his dean and chapter to abolish the *Feast of Asses*, which had been annually celebrated in Lincoln cathedral on the feast of the circumcision, on account of its licentiousness.[6]

The festival itself probably derives its origin from that principle of accommodation to the manners and prejudices of the people, which led to the adoption of rites and ceremonies in imitation of the Pagans; *the coronation of the ass* was a part of the ceremony of the feast of Vesta, an honour conferred upon this quadruped, because, according to the Pagan mythology, it had, by its braying, saved Vesta from being ravished by the Lampsacon god.

Among other superstitious practices of this century, the trial by ORDEAL is one of the most prominent. The following law of King Athelstan is sufficiently explanatory of its nature: "As to ORDEALS, we charge in the name of God, and by the precept of the archbishop, and all my bishops, that no one go into the church after the

(4) *Literary Panorama*, II. pp. 585—588; and VII. pp. 714—719. See also Tilliot, Memoires pour servir a l' histoire de la Fete des Foux, *passim*.

(5) Michaelis's Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, III. p. 198.

(6) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, II. p. 367.

carrying in of the fire, with which the *Ordeal* is to be heated, but the priest, and the person to be tried. And let nine feet be measured out from the stake to the mark, acoording to the length of the person's foot who is to be tried. And if it be the *Water-Ordeal*, let it be heated till it boils: and if it be a single accusation, let the hand be dipped to the fist only, to take out the stone; but if the accusation be three-fold, then let it be dipped to the elbow. And when the *Ordeal* is ready, let two of each party come in, to see that it be sufficiently heated, and let an equal number of both sides enter, and stand on each side of the *Ordeal*, along the church, and let them all be fasting, without having been with their wives the foregoing night; let them humble themselves at the priest's sprinkling the holy water upon them; and let the priest give them the HOLY GOSPEL BOOK, and the sign of the holy cross to be kissed. And let no man increase the fire after the consecration is begun; but let the iron lie in the fire till the last collect, then let it be laid on the pillar.* And let nothing be said, but prayers to God that he may reveal the truth; and let the person accused drink holy water, and let the hand in which he is to carry the Ordeal be sprinkled with it. Let the nine measured feet, be divided into three parts, containing each three feet. Let him place his right foot at the first mark at the stake; at the second mark let him put his right foot foremost; when he is come to the third, let him throw down the iron. Let him speed to the holy altar, and let his hand be sealed up. On the third day let inspection be made whether there be any filth† or not, in the place that was sealed up. If any one break these laws, let the Ordeal be null, and a mulct of 120 shillings be paid to the

* *Super Staples.* Some supporter made of stone or iron, from whence the person to be tried was to take the hot iron into his hands. *Johnson.*

† If there was any matter or corruption, the person was condemned as guilty: if there was none, or the priest could see none, he was acquitted. *Johnson.*

king."[7] The irrational and daringly impious practice of the modern *duellist*, is almost the only remaining trace of this ancient appeal to the justice of God.

But in the midst of the ignorance and superstition which so generally overspread the Western world, our acknowledgments of gratitude are due to those institutions, which, during the Middle Ages, preserved literature from utter extinction in Europe. Let our views be what they may of the general utility of monastic foundations, it is a well-known fact, that when literature was neglected every where else, it found a refuge in monasteries. In every great abbey, there was an apartment called the SCRIPTORIUM, or *Domus Antiquarii*, where writers were constantly employed in copying Psalters, Missals, Church-Music, and such other works as they could obtain. The monks, in these conventual writing-rooms, were enjoined to pursue their occupations in silence; and cautiously to avoid mistakes in grammar, or spelling, or pointing;[8] and in certain instances, authors prefixed to their works a solemn adjuration to the transcribers to copy them correctly; the following ancient one by Irenæus has been preserved: "I adjure thee who shalt transcribe this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by his glorious coming to judge the quick and the dead, that thou compare what thou transcribest, and correct it carefully according to the copy from which thou transcribest; and that thou also annex a copy of this adjuration to what thou hast written."[9] When a number of copies were to be made of the same work, it was usual to employ several persons at the same time in writing it; each person, except the writer of the first skin, began where his fellow was to leave off.[10] Sometimes the writers wrote after another person called the *Dictator*,

(7) Johnson's Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws, &c. II. A.D. DCCCXXV.
(8) Du Cange, Glossarium, I. Præfat. p. iv. and VI. v. "*Scriptores*," and "*Scriptorium*." Venet. 1740, fol.
(9) Eusebius's Eccles. Hist. lib. v. cap. xx.
(10) Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing, ch. viii. p. 192.

who held the original, and dictated; hence the errors in the orthography of many ancient MSS. particularly Greek ones; thus in the very old fragments of the Greek Gospels, in the Cotton Library, written in large ancient letters of silver and gold, CΠΙΡΑΝ is written for σπεῖραν, ΚΥΡΗΝΕΟΝ for Κὶρηναῖον; and many others.[11]

Musical notes intended for the choirs were also very frequently written from dictation. Till the eleventh century, musical notes were expressed only by letters of the alphabet, and till the fourteenth century they were expressed by large lozenge-shaped black dots, or points placed on different lines, one above another, and then first named *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la,* to which *si* was afterwards added; and they were all expressed without any distinction as to length of time, and without any such thing as breves, semibreves, minims, crotchets, or quavers. The old Psalters, in many cathedral churches, are found thus written; and in consequence of this it was, that the *Scriptoria* at Gloucester and some other places, are found so contrived, as to have long ranges of seats or benches one beyond another, for the copyists; so that a master or person standing at one end, and naming each note, it might quickly be copied out by all, naming it in succession from one end to the other. Hence the Psalters were more easily copied than any other books; and it is not a little remarkable, that in the library at Worcester, there is a copy of *St. Matthew's Gospel,* set to music throughout, with these sort of notes.[12] In representations of these *Scriptores,* or writers, in the act of writing, they are drawn with a pen in one hand, and an instrument to mark the lines with in the other; the inkhorn, an inverted cone, hanging on one side of the desk. Reeds were commonly used for writing the text and initials, and quills for the smaller writing.*

(11) Classical Journal, No. 24, December 1815. p. 453.

(12) Savage's Librarian, III. p. 36. Lond. 1809. 8vo.

* Ducarel, in his *Anglo-Norman Antiquities,* p. 28, informs us, that in the cloisters of St. Owen, at Rouen, which appeared to be a more

These writing-monks were sometimes distinguished by the name of LIBRARII, the term applied to the common *Scriptores*, who gained a livelihood by writing; but their more usual denomination was that of ANTIQUARII. Isidore, of Seville, says, "The *Librarii* transcribed both old and new works; the *Antiquarii* only those that were ancient; from whence also they derived their name."[13] Swift or short-hand writers obtained the name of *Tachygraphi*; and elegant writers that of *Calligraphi*; the works executed in large uncial or square characters were written by the latter; such for instance as the fifty copies of the Scriptures presented by Constantine the Great, to the different churches, and the fifty copies, sent by Athanasius, to Constantius:[14] and in the thirteenth century the scribes in Italy, called themselves *Scriptores Librorum*, or *Exemplatores*.[15] It was the duty of the librarian, who was the *Præcentor* of the monastery, to provide the writing-monks with the books they were to copy, and whatever was necessary for their occupation; they were also forbidden to write any thing without his permission;[16] and in some of the great houses it was usual for the librarians to make some benefit, by letting others have copies made of the MSS. in their custody. The librarians were themselves, generally, fine writers and illuminators.[17]

ancient building than the church, he "observed some old *stone desks* stuck to the pillars, and designed to place *books* upon;" and adds, "In the Benedictine convents it was anciently a custom, for all the monks to assemble together in the cloisters, at stated times in the day, and there cultivate their studies in common; some being employed in reading, whilst others were engaged in transcribing books; and for this purpose it was, that these desks were placed in the abbey-cloisters." It may also be remarked, that the ancients, prior to the discovery of *desks*, wrote upon *scrolls*, placed upon their knees, and it is very questionable, whether desks were at all in use before the seventh century. See also Fosbrooke's British Monachism, II p. 179. Lond. 1802, 8vo.

(13) Isid. Hispal. Orig. lib. vi. cap. xiii. p. 48. Colon. Agrip. 1617, fol.

(14) Nov. Test. Gr. a Woide, in Præfat. p. xiii.

(15) Histoire des Arts &c. cited in Literary Panorama, III. No. 4. January 1816.

(16) Du Cange, Glossar. v. "*Scriptores*."

(17) Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, VI. pt. i. p. 77.

Beside being employed in the transcription of the Scriptures, and ecclesiastical works, and sometimes of the classics, the monks were the registrars of public events, of the age and succession of the king, and of the births of the royal family: and the constitutions of the clergy in their national and provincial synods, and (after the conquest) even acts of parliament were sent to the abbeys to be recorded by them. Instances also appear of the pope's sending orders for certain books to be made for him; and the monks used to transcribe the bulls of privileges, in books of a various nature, as missals, and others, as well as make marginal notes of the affairs of their abbeys in books of history; even the *Martyrologium* sometimes contained acts of general chapters.[18]

Those who were engaged in the transcription of books, were principally the novices and junior monks, but by a capitular of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 789, it was ordained, that "the GOSPELS, PSALTERS, and MISSALS should be carefully written by monks of mature age."[19] Nuns were sometimes occupied in a similar way; but none of the Gilbertine nuns were to write books without leave of the grand prior, or hire or retain writers in their churches.[20]

CALLIGRAPHY, or the art of beautiful writing, has been considered as having arrived at its summit of excellence in the monasteries of Spain; though it was not confined to them, for in England, the Anglo-Saxon artists possessed eminent skill in the execution of their books, and the character they used had the honour of giving rise to the modern small beautiful Roman letter. But after the Norman invasion, degeneracy of skill occasioned the MSS. subsequent to that period, to be of difficult reading. The missals, and other books of divine offices, were

(18) Tanner's Notitia Monastica, by Nasmith, Pref. p. xix. Camb. 1787, fol.
Fosbrooke's British Monachism, II. pp. 177, 178.
(19) Du Cange, Glossar. I. Præfat. p. iv.
(20) Fosbrooke's *ut sup.*

indeed curiously done, through the extraordinary expense laid out upon works of this nature, and in compliance with an injunction, that no books should be brought into places of devotion which could not easily be read. Some copies were written in a larger hand, for more aged persons; and others illuminated with extraordinary beauty, for nuns of a superior quality, and other persons of distinction. At Godstowe, there was a common library for the use of the nuns there, well furnished with books, many of which were in English, and divers of them historical: such of them as contained "the lives of the holy men and women, especially of the latter, were curiously written *on vellum*, and many illuminations appeared throughout, so as to draw the nuns the more easily to follow their examples: and many of them "were finely covered, not unlike the Kiver of the Gospell book given to the chapel of Glastonbury, by King Ine."[21]

At the sale of the books belonging to the late James Edwards, Esq. of Pall-Mall, April 1815, among many other very valuable MSS. were the following, thus described in the catalogue:

"PSALTERIUM GRÆCO-LATINUM, fol. a MS. of the *ninth* century, upon vellum, written in a very fair and legible hand, with this peculiarity, the Greek is written in Roman characters." Sold to the Marquis of Douglas, for £110. 5s.

"EVANGELIA QUATUOR, *Græce*, fol. a magnificent MS. upon vellum, of the *tenth* century, most elaborately executed. The subject of each page is designated at the top in letters of gold. This grand MS. is in the highest preservation, and is one of the finest Greek MSS. of the Gospels extant. It is supposed to have been one of the Imperial collection saved at the capture of Constantinople.

(21) Hearne's edit. Guil. Neubrig. quoted in Dibdin's Bibliomania, p. 236, Note.
Fosbrooke's British Monachism, II. pp. 178, 179.

Bound in blue velvet, with bronze-gilt medallions of the Birth of our Saviour, and the Adoration of the Magi, on the sides." Sold to Mr. Payne for £210.

"EVANGELIA QUATUOR, *Latiné*, a most beautiful MS. of the *tenth* century, on vellum." Sold for £57. 15s.

Michaelis, in his "Introduction to the New Testament," vol. II. pt. i. p. 218, notices a Greek MS. (Basileensis, B. vi. 27.) which Wetstein supposes to have been written in the *tenth* century, and which is held in high estimation for its critical authority. It was given by Johannes de Ragusio to the monastery in Basil, and was borrowed from the monks by Reuchlin or Capnio, who kept it during thirty years, till the time of his death. It contains the *whole* of the NEW TESTAMENT, except the *Revelation*. It is written on vellum, with small characters and accents; and is ornamented with pictures, one of which appears to be a portrait of Leo Sapiens, and of his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Montfaucon also, in his *Journey through Italy, passim*, notices many valuable MSS. of the middle ages, preserved in the different libraries of Italy; several of which are written upon *silk;* others upon vellum, and purple paper, executed in the most superb manner.

Professor Tychsen, when noticing the beauty of certain MSS. "*where the letters throughout were so equal, that the whole had the appearance of print,*" adds, "Frequently, after reflecting on this singular circumstance, I have been inclined to think, that the monks who cultivated the study of calligraphy with great eagerness, had the forms of all the letters of the alphabet impressed into or engraved out of thin plates: that whole pages or columns of these plates were placed under the parchment or vellum, on which it was intended to write, so that by drawing a pencil over them, the monks were able to produce this surprizing equality of letters; or it may have been that the shapes or forms of the letters were first imprinted upon the parch-

ment or vellum, and afterwards filled up."[22] The celebrated CODEX ARGENTEUS, or Fragments of the Gothic Gospels, (see p. 140.) has been supposed to have been executed by heated metallic characters, or letters, impressed on gold or silver foil, attached to vellum by some glutinous or resinous cement, similar to the mode adopted by bookbinders in lettering and ornamenting their volumes. IHRE, the learned professor of the university of Upsal, in his *Ulphilas Illustratus*, 1752, 1755, 4to. and in his *Preface* to *Fragments of Ulphilas's Version of some Portions of the Epistle to the Romans*, 1763, 4to. has endeavoured to establish the fact, by showing that the furrows of the letters in the *Codex Argenteus*, are so palpably and deeply impressed, that when the vellum in every other part is highly polished and exceeding smooth, the lines present a rough surface, to be distinguished by the touch of the finger; and by observing that the delineation of the letters so perfectly corresponds throughout the whole volume, that they never vary in the least from each other, either in size or shape.* Meerman, in his *Origines Typographicæ*, has supported the same opinion; and in reply to an objection, that vellum would not admit of the application of heated iron types so frequently repeated, has stated that he ordered his bookbinder to stamp an entire folio of vellum, in the way that he lettered the backs of volumes; which he effected without difficulty, and with little injury to the smoothness of its surface.† This mode of imprinting letters with

(22) Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, I. p. 46.

* The intelligent Mr. Coxe, (*Travels into Poland, &c.* IV. p. 173, 8vo.) has offered a different opinion as to the mode of forming the letters of the *Codex Argenteus*. "I was convinced," says he, "from a close inspection, that each letter was painted, and not formed, as some authors have asserted, by a hot iron upon leaves of gold and silver." In a note he adds, "They (the letters) appeared to me to be drawn or painted, in the same manner as the initial letters in several of the finest missals; and not stamped, as the learned Mr. Ihre conjectures, or imprinted on the vellum with hot metal types, in the like manner as the bookbinders at present letter the backs of books."

† To the works already mentioned, relating to the Gothic version of

gold and silver foil, has been thought to be what the Romans denominated the *encaustic* art.[23]

Particular lands were given, or a tax levied upon the community, to furnish the writing materials for these conventual *Scriptoria*. A noble Norman, who was a great hearer and lover of books, (diligens auditor et amator scripturarum) conferred upon the abbey of St. Albans, about A. D. 1086, two parts of the tithes of Hatfield, and certain tithes in Redburn, for the formation of volumes necessary to the church; and appointed a daily provision of meat to be allowed the writers, lest they should be hindered in their work; Paul, who was abbot at the time, and by whose persuasion the bequest was made, built the *Scriptorium*, and caused some noble volumes necessary for the church to be placed there, written by writers select-

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Ulphilas, may be added, the edition of that version by M. *Zahn*, preacher at Delitz-sur-la-Saale, near Weissenfels, in Saxony, printed at Weissenfels, 1805, large 4to. The text of the Gospels is chiefly from a corrected MS. of Chancellor Ihre's, who had meditated a new edition of the version; but being prevented from publishing by the appearance of Lye's edition, had presented his MS. to the celebrated Busching, at whose death it passed into the hands of M. Heynatz, professor at Frankfort on the Oder, who communicated it to M. Zahn. The Fragments of the *Epistle to the Romans*, are taken from Knittel. The whole is accompanied with a completely literal interlineary Latin translation, by *Charles Frederick Fulda*, formerly pastor in the dutchy of Wirtemberg, well known for his various works on Antiquities, and the Genius of the German language. At the side of the text, is Benzel's translation corrected by Ihre; and below are placed critical and explanatory notes, and the various readings by M. Zahn. A Mœso-Gothic Grammar is added by C. F. Fulda, revised, and a supplement subjoined, by M. Zahn. Annexed to the grammar is a Glossary by C. F. Fulda, corrected by M. *Reinwald*, first librarian of the Ducal Library of Meinungen. To the work is prefixed a Preface by M. Zahn, in which he first gives a general idea of the work, and a biographical notice of Fulda; after which follows an ample Introduction, divided into two parts; the first containing a History of the Goths and their language, drawn from a work of Adelung's of Dresden; the second presenting a review of the life of Ulphilas and his version, partly from a MS. of Adelung's. M. Zahn has also prefixed to his grammar, a specimen of the *Codex Argenteus*, from Matt. v. printed with fac-simile types, formed under the direction of M. Steenwinkel of Harderwick, who had projected, but not executed, a fac-simile edition. Millin, Magasin Encyclopedique, III. Mai, 1806. pp. 61—68. Paris, 8vo.

(23) Henshall's Gothic Gospel, pp. 37—44.

ed and fetched from a distance, the copies being furnished by Archbishop Lanfranc. By the rules of Evesham, the præcentor was obliged to find, from the tithes and lands allotted him, *enamel* for all the writers of the monastery, and *parchment* for briefs,* and *colours* for illuminating books, and necessaries for *binding* them."[24] The *Scriptorium* at St. Edmund's-Bury was endowed with two mills; and in the year 1171, the tithes of a rectory were appropriated to the cathedral convent of St. Swithin, at Winchester, "ad Libros transcribendos." For a similar purpose, "ad Libros faciendos," Nigel gave the monks of Ely, two churches, in 1160; and Hearne, (*Ad Domerham, Num. iii.*) has published a grant from R. de Paston to Bromholm abbey in Norfolk, of 12d. per annum, a rent charge on his lands, to keep their books in repair, "ad emendacionem Librorum."[25]

The prices of the materials for writing upon, during the middle ages, have been already noticed when treating of the *Codices Rescripti*, to which the following entry in the "Compotus" of Bolton may be added:

XC
"MCCVIII

Pro auro et coloribus ad picturam, et pro uno missali luminand' et ligand', XVIs."

For gold and colours, and for illuminating and binding a Missal, 16s.[26]

This was probably an elaborate and curious work; for *sixteen shillings* was one third more than the yearly clothing of a canon cost, and equivalent to £12. at present.

The *Transcription of Books*, as a monastic employment, may be traced to an early era. In the *fourth* century, Martin, bishop of Tours, built the famous abbey of Mar-

* A term originally signifying heads, or contents of chapters.

(24) Whitaker's Cathedral of Cornwall, II. ch. vii. sec. 3. pp. 352, 353.

(25) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, I. Dissert. 2.

(26) Whitaker's Hist. of Craven, p. 384. Lond. 1812, 4to.

moutier, the most ancient that now subsists in France, and which belongs to the congregation of St. Maur. The place was then a desert, inclosed by a high steep rock on one side, and by the river Loire on the other, and the entrance into it was only by one very narrow passage. The bishop had a cell built of wood; several of his monks had cells made in the same manner: but the greater part took up their dwellings in narrow holes, which they dug in the side of the rock. He had here, in a short time, about fourscore monks: amongst them, no one had any distinct property, no one was allowed to buy or sell, as was the practice of the greater part of the monks with regard to their sustenance and work. *No art or business was permitted amongst them except that of writing*, to which the younger were deputed, whilst the more ancient attended to prayer and spiritual functions.[27]

In the *sixth* century, Cassiodorus retired from the toil of political engagements, erected a monastery, and employed his monks in the meritorious labours of transcription; about the same period St. Columba, or Columb-Kill, who founded the monastery of Iona, directed his attention to Sacred Literature, and deserves to be praised for the correctness of the copies produced by him and his followers. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin, a copy of the OLD TESTAMENT is preserved, written by Columba, on vellum, in the Roman character; at the beginning of which is a conveyance of land from the king of Meath to Columba and his successors in the abbey of Kells, written in the *Irish* character. The monks of Croyland also appear to have been diligent copyists; for Ingulph relates, that when the library of that abbey was burned in the year 1091, seven hundreds of volumes were consumed. Fifty-eight volumes were transcribed at Glastonbury, during the government of one abbot, about the year 1300; and in the library of this monastery, the richest in England, there

(27) Butler's Lives, XI. Nov. 11. p. 209.

were upwards of four hundred volumes in the year 1248.[28]

In the eleventh century, BRUNO, the celebrated founder of the Carthusian monks, was one of the active promoters of knowledge, by the attention which he paid to the multiplication of books by transcription. He was a descendant of an ancient and honourable family at Cologne, where he was born, about A. D. 1030. Removing to Rheims he became chancellor of that diocese, and doctor of divinity. Such was his reputation, that he was considered the ornament of the age in which he lived, and the model of good men. He was learned in Greek and Hebrew, and in the writings of the Fathers, particularly Ambrose and Augustin. His principal works are, *Comments on the Psalter*, and on *St. Paul's Epistles*. After the legal deposition of Manasses, archbishop of Cologne, for simony, Bruno was offered the vacant archbishopric, but preferred a state of solitude. He, with six companions, withdrew into the desert of Chartreuse, in the diocese of Grenoble, and selecting a barren plain, in a narrow valley, between two cliffs, near a rapid torrent, surrounded with high craggy rocks, almost all the year covered with snow; there he and his companions built an oratory, and very small cells, at a little distance from each other, similar to the ancient Lauras of Palestine. Such was the original of the order of Carthusians, which took its name from this desert. The name of *Chartreuse* is given to all other convents of this order, which by some has been corruptly called in English *Charter-house*, the term now constantly applied to their ancient residence in London. The Carthusians practised uncommon austerities; but their chief employment was that of *copying books*, by which they endeavoured to earn their subsistence, that they might not be burdensome to others; they were enjoined to keep almost continual

(28) Vallancey's Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic, or Irish Language, ch. ix. p. 147.
Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, Diss. 2.

silence, and to speak to each other by signs. Bruno was careful to provide for them a good library of useful and pious books. He died in 1101. This order, notwithstanding its excessive austerities, was at one period so extensive, that it possessed one hundred and seventy-two convents, and five nunneries; the nunneries were all situate in the Catholic Netherlands. By the rules of the Carthusians, the sacrist was ordered at a certain hour of the day, "to deliver out to the monks, ink, parchment, pens, chalk, and books to read or transcribe;" and the following remarks evince extraordinary literary ardour; 'Books ought to be carefully preserved as the everlasting food of our souls; and since we cannot preach the Word of God with our mouths, we do it by our hands, for the books which we transcribe, are so many sermons of truth which we deliver."[29]

In the fourteenth century, GERARD DE GROOT, or Gerard the Great, instituted a society called *Fratres Vitæ Communis*, or Brethren of the common life. Gerard was born at Deventer, in the year 1340. His parents, who were wealthy, bestowed great care upon his education, and at fifteen years of age sent him to Paris to perfect himself in theological and philosophical studies. His acquirements in general knowledge afterwards procured for him the distinctive appellation of *The Great*; but in the midst of his intellectual celebrity, he debased himself by levity, luxury, and dissipation. A private, but faithful reproof, from one of his former fellow-students, was the occasion of an entire change in his conduct. He now became grave, devout, and exemplary; he clothed himself in a doublet of grey, lined with hair, and retired to a monastery at Munikhuysen, where he devoted himself to prayer and the reformation of immoral characters. Meet-

(29) Butler's Lives, X. pp. 132—150.
Milner's History of the Church of Christ, III. pp. 326, 327.
D' Emillianne's Hist. of Monastical Orders, pp. 102—105.
Mabillon, Annales, III. pp. 548, 549.

ing with unexpected success in this pious avocation, he instituted the fraternity before mentioned. "One heart, one soul, one common property, influenced and supported this illustrious society; whose glory it was that *they earned their livelihood by their pen.*" They were distinguished by wearing a grey coat, lined with hair next their skin. A black cowl hung down behind as low as the waist; and whenever they went abroad, they wrapt themselves in a large mantle, which decended to their heels. Their hair was closely cropt in a circular manner. Dibdin, in his "Typographical Antiquities" vol. I. p. 9, has given a representation of their dress, copied from "*Lambinet's Recherches, &c.*" Successive popes confirmed and extended their privileges; and in 1402, seven monasteries had admitted their rules, and imitated their example.[30] Gerard died in 1384, in the 44th year of his age, and was buried in the church of the Virgin Mary, at Deventer.[31]

Of all the disciples of Gerard, no one seems to have excelled the celebrated THOMAS A KEMPIS, either in piety, or manual skill. This excellent man was born in a village called *Chempis, or Kempis,* in the diocese of Cologne, about A. D. 1380. In his youth he studied at Deventer, in the school of the "Brethren of the common life;" and in 1400, became a canon regular in the convent of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwoll, in the province of Over-Yssel. The sincerity of his piety, and the amiableness of his manners, caused him to be chosen sub-prior, and afterwards procurator of the monastery. He died in 1471, in the ninety-first year of his age. In a painting near his tomb, he is represented as sitting in a chair; a monk on his knees before him inquires, "Thomas, where shall I, with certainty, find true rest?" To which he replies, "Never canst thou find certain rest, but in the cell, in the Bible, and in Christ.

(30) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, I. *Ames's Preface,* pp. 8—10, note. Lond. 1810, 4to.

(31) Freheri Theatrum, I. pt. i. sec. 3. p. 80. Norib. 1688, fol.

(*in celld, Codice, Christo.*") He was the author of several works, the most noted of which are his *Lives of Gerard de Groot*, and his successors, *Dr. Florentius*, and *John Cacabus*, or *Chetel*; and his *Imitation of Christ*, or *Christian Pattern*. It has indeed been disputed whether he was the author of the last named work, but the evidence preponderates in his favour. Trithemius, a German monk, in *Catalog. Virorum Illustrium*, says, there were two persons of this name, both of them regular monks, the elder of whom, who flourished about A. D. 1410, was the author of *The Imitation of Christ*; the younger lived in his own time, about A. D. 1495.[32] The incomparable work of *the Imitation of Christ* has been translated into most European languages, and even into Chinese.—As a *Biblical scribe*, his immediate master, Radewyns, assures us, that "he excelled in this department, and devoted his earnings to the support of the common body." He is said to have been the copier of the Bible, in four large volumes; of a very large Missal; of some Opuscula of St. Bernard; and of several minor works. The VIIth. plate in Meerman's *Origines Typographicæ*, exhibits a specimen of works printed from his hand-writing.[33] A beautiful copy of the Bible is preserved in the library of the regular canons at Cologne, transcribed by him, as appears from the following colophon, at the end of the fifth volume:

"Completum est hoc volumen novi Testamenti anno Domini, MCCCCXXVII. in vigilia Pentacostes, per manus fratris Thomæ de Kempis ad laudem Dei."[34]

This volume of the New Testament was finished A. D. MCCCCXXVII, on the eve of Pentecost, by the hand of the brother Thomas de Kempis, to the glory of God.

If this be the same Bible as that referred to before, there

(32) Freheri Theatrum, I. pt. i. sec. 3. pp. 92, 93.
(33) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, I. p. 10.
(34) Voyage Litteraires de deux Religieux Benedictins, II. p. 266.

must be an error in one case as to the number of volumes; but as transcription was his usual employment, it is probable, that in the course of a long life, he transcribed more than one copy of the Scriptures.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, the "Brothers of the common life" instituted public schools for the instruction of the poor and ignorant. The Brabant Chronicle informs us, that in the year 1460 the public magistrate at Brussels invited over a body of these "Brothers" to establish schools of instruction there, and appointed colleges for their reception. Lambinet (*Recherches &c.*) says, he saw at Louvain, a most beautiful manuscript missal, *Secundum consuetudinem Gallicorum*, which was printed in 1481, and had been executed by one of these "Brothers." As they had taken St. Gregory and St. Jerom for their patrons, these scribes were sometimes called the "Brothers of St. Gregory," or "of St. Jerom."[35]

From the *length of time* requisite for the transcription of books, and the *immense labour* bestowed upon them, the expense of copying MSS. was necessarily very great. This, joined to the cost of the materials for writing upon, rendered the purchase of books almost impossible to the poor, and persons of moderate fortune. In the year 1174, Walter, prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester, afterwards elected abbot of Westminster, purchased of the canons of Dorchester in Oxfordshire, St. Austin's Psalter, and Bede's Homilies, for twelve measures of barley, and a pall, on which was embroidered in silver, the history of St. Birinus converting a Saxon king.[36]

In the tenth century, *a single copy of the Bible*, and a few other books, not exceeding *sixteen* in the whole, were considered as a legacy of sufficient importance to be witnessed by the king and queen, and several bishops; and of so great value as to be bequeathed as the common pro-

(35) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, I. p. 10.
(36) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, I. Diss. 2.

perty of several monasteries:[37] and in the thirteenth century, Elizabeth, the wife of Charles Robert, king of Hungary, mentioned *two Breviaries* in her will, one of which she bequeathed to her daughter-in-law, and the other to Clara von Puker, but with this stipulation, that after her death, it should belong to a monastery at Buda.[38]

In the *Compotus* of Bolton, we have the following entries, which I transcribe with the remarks of the Historian of Craven upon them.

"MCCCV.

Pro quodam Libro Sententiarum empt. XXXs.

The Book of Sentences, by Peter Lombard, one of the most fashionable books of school divinity, in the middle age. The price of this volume was nearly that of two good oxen. How expensive must it have been to furnish a library with MSS! But the canons of Bolton did not exhaust themselves in this way. I can only discover that they purchased three books in forty years!"

"MCCCX.

Pro uno libro qui vocatur V' itates Theologie, VIs.

V' itates Theologie—in the beginning of the fourteenth century, I can scarcely suppose there was a book with so profane, or so bold a title, as Vanitates Theologiæ; and therefore I understand this contraction to mean either Veritates, or Utilitates."

"MCCCXIII.

Pro Chroniclis apud Ebor. scribendis, XIs.

To the care and curiosity of the religious houses, it is principally owing, that the Old Chronicles of our country were preserved till the invention of printing."[39]

Beside the monks who were employed in the monasteries, in copying manuscripts; there were others who were

(37) Mabillon, Annales Benedict. III. lib. xli. p. 351. Lutecia-Parisiorum, 1707, fol.

(38) Beckman's Hist. of Inventions, II. p. 240.

(39) Whitaker's Hist. of Craven, pp. 388. 391. 393.

engaged in *illuminating* and *binding* them when written. Gold and azure were, as has been already noticed, (p. 172. the favourite colours of the illuminators. In binding their books, some were adorned with gold, silver, ivory, precious stones, or coloured velvet; but for common binding, they frequently used rough white sheep-skin, with or without immense bosses of brass, pasted upon a wooden board; and sometimes the covers were of plain wood, carved in scroll and similar work.[40] About the year 790, Charlemagne granted an unlimited right of hunting to the abbot and monks of Sithiu, for making their gloves and girdles of the skins of the deer they killed, and for covers for their books.[41] In a copy of the will of Lady Ravensworth, the wife of Lord Fitzhugh, dated September 24th, 1427, we find the following bequests: "Also I wyl yat my son Robert," (bishop of London) have "a SAUTER, covered with rede velvet, and my doghter Margery, a PRIMER covered in rede, and my doghter Darcy, a SAUTER covered in blew, and my doghter Maulde Eure, a PRIMER covered in blew, and yong Elizabeth Fitzhugh, my god-doghter, a boke covered in grene, with praiers thereinne."[42] About the year 1430, Whethamstede, the learned and liberal abbot of St. Albans, being desirous of familiarising the history of his patron saint, to the monks of his convent, employed Lydgate, as it should seem, then a monk of Bury, to translate the Latin legend of his life in English rhymes. It was placed before the altar of the saint, which Whethamstede afterwards adorned with much magnificence, in the abbey-church. He paid for the translation, writing, and illumination of the legend, *one hundred shillings*, and expended on the binding and other exterior ornaments, upwards of *three pounds!*[43] These were immense sums to be laid out on such a work, since, in 1426, an *ox* was ap-

(40) Fosbrooke's British Monachism, II. p. 180.
(41) Warton, *ubi sup.*
(42) Antiquarian Repertory, III. pp. 79, 80.
(43) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, II. p. 53.

praised at *three shillings and four-pence;* a *cow* at *two shillings and eight-pence,* and a *horse* at *three shillings.*[44]

A tolerably correct idea may be formed of the superb manner in which these works were bound, which were designed for the use of the principal churches, from the following extract from an inventory of copies of the Gospels, belonging to the cathedral church of Lincoln, taken in 1536:

"*Imprimis.* A TEXT after MATTHEW, covered with a plate, silver and gilt, having an image of the Majesty," (i. e. of the Saviour,) "with the Four Evangelists and four angels, about the said image; having at every corner an image of a man, with divers stones, great and small; beginning in the second less: and a transmigration, wanting divers stones and little pieces of the plate."

"*Item,* One other TEXT after JOHN, covered with a plate, silver and gilt, with an image of the Crucifix, Mary, and John, having twenty-two stones of divers colours, wanting four, written in the second less: Est qui prior me erat."[45]

For less valuable works, a plainer style of binding was adopted. When they were bound in thick boards, without any leather covering, it was usual to cut letters in the covers, which, in order to be better preserved, were placed in a hollow part, as might easily be done, when the boards were pretty thick. Scaliger also tells us, "that his grandmother had a PSALTER, the cover of which was two inches thick, in the inside of which was a kind of cupboard, wherein was a silver crucifix, and behind it the name of Berenica Codronia de la Scala." In such cases the crucifix was safely guarded by a metal door with clasps.

Many books were ornamented with metal or ivory figures, and silver or brass bosses on the outside of the cover. A *Latin* PSALTER, with an interlineary *Saxon* version, probably of the ninth century, and preserved in

(44) Chronicon Preciosum, p. 103. Lond. 1707, 8vo.
(45) Dugdale's Monast. Anglic. III. p. 277. 2nd. edit. 1673, fol.

the library at Stowe, is decorated on the exterior of the oaken boards with which it is bound, with a *large brass crucifix*, about seven or eight inches in height, formerly perhaps covered, or washed, with silver. A MS. copy of the *Latin* GOSPELS, mentioned by Mr. Dibdin, (*Decameron*, vol. II. p. 434,) is also said to have oaken covers, the outside of one of which was inlaid with pieces of carved *ivory*: the first consists of our Saviour, with an angel above him; the second of the Virgin with Christ in her lap, the Virgin being represented in half length: the third is a small whole length of Joseph with an angel above. A gilt *nimbus* or glory is round the head of each, but that which encircles the Virgin is perfect; and the compartment in which she appears (about 5 inches high) is twice the size of each of the others. The draperies throughout are good.[46]

Sometimes inferior writings were merely stitched in parchment covers. Bagford (Harl. MSS. No. 5910,) says, that "when old books and MSS. were done with, they were thrown under the desks by the scribes and monks, and there lay till the binders used them as waste parchment or vellum, to bind up with the new books transcribed."[47]

But neither the *writing*, nor the *illuminating*, nor even the *binding* of books, was the work of the subordinate monks only. ERVENE, one of the teachers of Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, was famous for calligraphy and skill in colours. To invite his pupils to read, he made use of a PSALTER, and Sacramentary, whose capital letters he had richly illuminated with gold. This was about the year 980. HERMAN, one of the Norman bishops of Salisbury about the year 1080, condescended to write, bind, and illuminate books.[48] The Gospel written by Eadfrid, and

(46) Concise Hist. of Printing, p. 44. Lond. 1770, 8vo.
Dibdin's Bibliomania, p. 158. 2nd. edit.
Dibdin's Bibliographical Decameron, II. p. 434, note.
(47) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, I. *Life of Caxton*, p. CXXX.
(48) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, Diss. 2.

illuminated by Ethelwold, has been already noticed. In the thirteenth century, when Michael Palæologus had usurped the Greek empire, and had had recourse to the barbarous policy of putting out the eyes of the rightful heir, then an infant; he basely accused ARSENIUS, the guardian of the emperor, and bishop of Nice in Bithynia, of certain crimes before an assembly of priests. The venal convocation condemned and banished Arsenius to a small island of the Propontis. But conscious of his integrity, the pious bishop bore his sufferings with serenity and composure; and requesting that an account might be taken of the treasure of the church, he showed that *three pieces of gold, which he had earned by transcribing Psalms,* were the whole of his property.[49]

The reader who wishes to see the subjects of ancient illumination, and bookbinding, discussed at large, may consult the Rev. T. F. Dibdin's superb and entertaining work, entitled *The Bibliographical Decameron,* 3 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1817, *passim;* and Herman Hugo's erudite work, edited by C. H. Totz, *De Prima Scribendi Origine, et Universæ rei literariæ Antiquitate;* Traj. ad Rhen. 1738, 8vo.

Resuming the occurrences of the *tenth* century, we remark with pleasure, that amid the general ignorance which prevailed in Europe, some faint efforts were made to dispel the shades of illiterate barbarism, and to promote the interests of religion and learning. EDWARD, the son, and ATHELSTAN, the grandson of Alfred, were not only the bravest, but the most intelligent princes of their age, and the greatest patrons of learning. EDWARD, if we may believe some of our ancient historians, was the founder or restorer of the University of Cambridge, as his father had been of Oxford; but the Danes, in 1010, again ruined the schools and town of Cambridge. Another proof which he gave of his regard to learning, was that of bestowing a

(49) Milner's Hist of the Church of Christ, IV. ch. vi. pp. 15, 16.

very liberal education on his five sons and nine daughters, who excelled all the princes and princesses of their age in literary accomplishments.[50]

ATHELSTAN, the eldest son and successor of Edward, was a prince of uncommon learning, for the age in which he lived. There is a catalogue of his books extant, which may not be unworthy of notice. It is, in Saxon characters, in the Cotton Library, (Domitian, A. 1,) in these words:

"This syndon tha bec the Æthelstanes waeran; De natura rerum; Persius, de arte metrica; Donatum minorem; Excerptiones de metrica arte; APOCALYPSIN; Donatum majorem; Alchuinum; Glossa super Catonem; Libellum de grammatica arte qui sic incipit, &c. Sedulium . . . . .] I gerim wæs Alfwoldes preostes, Glossa super Donatum. Dialogorum."[51]

During his reign a law was passed, which enacted, "that if any man made such proficiency in learning as to obtain priest's orders, he should enjoy all the honours of a Thane," or nobleman.[52] It has also been asserted that this prince employed certain Jews, who then resided in England, to translate the *Old Testament* out of *Hebrew* into *Anglo-Saxon*: Leland, in his "Newe yeares Gyfte, enlarged by Johan Bale," says "As concernynge the Hebrue, it is to be thought, that many were therin well learned in the dayes of Kynge Athelstane. For at the instaunt request of his prelates, he caused the Scriptures out of that tungue to be by certen doctours translated into the Saxonysh or Englyshe speche, as in the Chronycles is mencyoned."[53] Archbishop Usher, in his *Historia Dogmatica* &c. places this in the year 930. But the learned Hody, *De Bib. Text.* lib. iii. p. 415. considers the fact as doubtful.

Athelstan is represented to have been a great benefactor to the monastic institutions. He rebuilt many; and was liberal to most, of books ornaments, or endowments. In

(50) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, IV. B. ii. ch. iv. pp. 69, 70.
(51) Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, I. B. vi. ch. ii. p. 363. Note.
(52) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, IV. p. 71.
(53) Lives of Leland, Hearne, and Wood, I. Oxford, 1772, 8vo.

the Cotton Library there are two curious MSS. which were presented by him to different religious institutions. One is a MS. of the Latin Gospels. Before these is a page of Latin in Saxon characters, of which the first part is "Volumen hoc Evangelii Æthelstan Anglorum basyleos, et curagulos totius Britanniæ devota mente Dorobernensis cathedræ primatui tribuit." "Athelstan, King of England, and Governor of all Britain, with a pious intention, gave this volume of the Gospels to the Cathedral Church of Canterbury." One page is occupied by the letters LIB. in large gilt capitals, and by the rest of the first verse in small gilt capitals, on a lilac ground. The following verses, containing the genealogy, are in gilt capitals, on a dark blue ground. The first verses of the three other Gospels are in gilt capitals, on the uncoloured parchment. To each a painting of the Evangelist is prefixed. The rest is written in ink, without abbreviations. In the beginning of the Gospels is a page with, "Incipit evangelium secundum Matthæum," in large gilt capitals. Below these words are two crosses; opposite to one, is ODDA REX, and to the other MIHTILD MATER REGIS; from which it appears probable, that it was a present from Otho of Germany, whose name a contemporary writer spells Oddo, who married Athelstan's sister; and from Mathilda, the empress of Henry, and mother of Otho. It is said to have been used for the coronation-oath of our Anglo-Saxon kings, but this is doubtful.—The other MS. was presented, by Athelstan, to the monastery of Bath. It contains the proceedings of the sixth synod of Constantinople, in the seventh century. At the end of the MS. is a paragraph, stating that it was written in the time of Pope Sergius. Sergius was pope in 690. Beside these MSS. there is in the same valuable library, a small sized volume, which has come down to us as the Psalter used by Athelstan. In the beginning of it is a very ancient calendar, in Saxon letters, written in 703. The rest is

composed of Prayers, the Latin *Psalter*, and several other Hymns, very handsomely written. Every Psalm is begun with gilt capitals, with a title preceding in red letters. It has several ornamental paintings.[54]

There were also during this century several ecclesiastical laws or canons published, which deserve attention, as illustrative of the state of Biblical knowledge. Among those ascribed to King EDGAR, are the following, designed, as we learn from the title, for "the regulation of the lives of ecclesiastical persons:"

Can. 3. "That at every synod, every year, they have their books and vestments for divine ministration, as also ink, and parchment for [writing down] their instructions, and three days provision."

12. "That no learned priest do reproach him that is half-learned, but mend him, if he know how."

17. "That every Christian man diligently win his child to Christianity, and teach him the LORD's *Prayer*, and the Creed."

34. "That every priest take great care to have a *good* book, at least a *true* one."

52. "That priests preach to the people every Sunday, and always give them a good example."

64. "That no priest be a hunter, or hawker, or player at dice; but entertain himself with his book, as becometh his order."[55]

In the canons drawn up by Elfric, for Bishop Wulfsin, in which the seven orders appointed in the church are defined, it is observed, that,

"The *Lector* is to read in God's church, and is ordained to publish God's Word."

"He is called the *Acolyth*, who holds the candle, or taper, at the divine ministration, when the Gospel is read, or the Housel hallowed at the altar, not as if he were to drive away the obscure darkness, but to signify bliss by

(54) Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, I. p. 363.
(55) Johnso .'s Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws, &c. A. D. DCCCCLX.

that light, to the honour of Christ, who is our light."

"The *Deacon* is he that ministers to the mass-priest, and places the oblation on the altar, and reads the Gospel at the divine ministration."

By the Can. 21, it is ordained that, "the priest shall have the furniture for his ghostly work before he be ordained, that is, the Holy Books, the Psalter, and the Pistol-Book, Gospel-Book, and Mass-Book, the Song-Book, and the Hand-Book, the Kalendar, the Passional, the Penitential, and the Lesson-Book."

Of these books it may be necessary to remark that, "*The Pistol Book*" did not contain the entire Epistles, or entire Four Gospels, but such portions of them as were assigned to be read at the altar, at mass."

The *Song-Book*, sometimes called the *Antiphonar*, was a book of anthems to be sung with responses.

The *Manual*, or *Hand-Book*, contained directions for the administration of baptism, and extreme unction; the catechism; and the service for the dead.

The *Passional* was the same with the Martyrology.

The *Penitential* was the book which directed the priest what penance to enjoin for every sin confessed to him.

By Can. 23, it is further enjoined that, "The mass-priest on Sundays and mass-days, shall speak the sense of the Gospel to the people, in *English*, and of the Pater Noster, and the Creed, as oft as he can, for the inciting of the people to know their belief, and retaining their Christianity. Let the teacher take heed of what the prophet says: *They are dumb dogs, and cannot bark.* We ought to bark and preach to lay-men, lest they should be lost through ignorance. Christ, in his Gospel, saith of unlearned teachers; *If the blind lead the blind, they both fall into the ditch.* The teacher is blind that hath no book-learning; and he misleads the laity through his ignorance. Thus are you to be aware of this, as your own duty requires."[56]

(56) Johnson's Eccles. Laws &c. A. D. DCCCCXVII.

Among the Saxon Capitulars, translated from those of Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, by a bishop of uncertain date, probably by Elfric, the following is the 20th. "Mass-priests ought always to have a school of learners, in their houses, and if any good man will commit his little ones to them, to be taught, they ought gladly to accept them, and to teach them at free-cost. Ye should consider that it is written, *they that are learned shine as the brightness of heaven; and they who persuade and instruct men to right, as the stars for ever and ever;* yet they ought not to demand any thing of their relations for their learning, but what they of their own accord are willing to give."[57]

England had its Scholars also, who befriended learning by their countenance and example. The haughty Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, was one of the most celebrated. Occasionally he employed himself in the transcription of books; though his more favourite pursuits were painting and music, chemistry and mechanics, and the sublime sciences of astronomy and geometry.

But of all the Saxon scholars, a monk named Elfric seems to have been the only one who attempted, by vernacular translations, to enable his countrymen to read the Scriptures in their native tongue. Very little is known of him accurately, except from the prefaces and dedications of his writings. From these we learn that he was a mass-priest and an abbot; that he had been the alumnus, or pupil, of Athelwold, bishop of Winchester, and that on the death of Athelwold he was sent by bishop Elfeage to a monastery called Cernal, at the request of a nobleman named Æthelmer, during the reign of King Æthelred.[58] From the name of Elfric being subscribed to an authentic instrument, of the year 1001, or 1002, Cave[59] supposes him to have been afterwards advanced to the archiepis-

(57) Johnson, *ut sup.* A. D. DCCCCXCIV.
(58) Turner's Anglo-Saxons, II. B. xii. ch. iv. p. 404.
(59) Historia Litteraria, Sæc. x. p. 589.

copal see of Canterbury. This opinion has been generally followed.

This pious and learned Saxon partly composed, and partly translated, a number of *Homilies*, which were every where distributed among the priests, and ordered to be publicly read to the people on Sundays and Holidays. In them he speaks in the highest terms of the Holy Scriptures, and strenuously enforces the constant reading of them. In his homily, *On the Assumption of the Virgin Mary*, he observes, "If we were to say many things respecting this festival, which are not read in the Sacred Scriptures, which were appointed by the inspiration of God, we should be like those heretics who write falsehoods from their own inventions or dreams. It is sufficient for the faithful to read and learn what is true; and yet how very few are there who diligently search the whole Bible, dictated by God, or published by the inspiration of his Spirit. Let every one, therefore, whether of the clergy or laity, throw aside those heretical falsehoods, which lead the incautious to destruction; and let him read or hear that sacred doctrine, which, if attended to, will guide us to the kingdom of heaven." In another homily, *On reading the Scriptures*, he thus expresses his sentiments. "Whoever would be one with God, must often pray, and often read the Holy Scriptures. For when we pray, we speak to God; and when we read the Bible, God speaks to us. The reading of the Scriptures produces a two-fold advantage to the reader. It renders him wiser, by informing his mind; and also leads him from the vanities of the world to the love of God. The reading of the Scriptures is truly an honourable employment, and greatly conduces to the purity of the soul. For as the body is nourished by natural food, so the sublimer man, that is, the soul, is nourished by the Divine sayings, according to the words of the Psalmist; *How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth.* Happy

is he then, who reads the Scriptures, if he convert the words into actions. The whole of the Scriptures are written for our salvation, and by them we obtain the knowledge of the truth. The blind man stumbles oftener than he who sees; so he who is ignorant of the precepts of Scripture offends more frequently than he who knows them," each of them being without guide.[60] His *Homily on Easter* was printed with an English translation, by Fox, in his "Acts and Monuments," vol. II. p. 450—456. ed. 1641, fol. An edition of it, in Saxon and English, accompanied with a part of a letter of Elfric's to Wulfsin, bishop of Sherborn, was also published by Archbishop Parker, under the title of "A testimonie of Antiquitie, shewing the auncient Fayth in the Church of England, touching the sacrament of the body and bloude of the Lord here publickely preached, and also receaved in the Saxons tyme above 600 yeáres agoe." *Imprinted at London by John Daye.* It has no date.

Elfric was likewise the author of a *Saxon Grammar*, and *Saxon and Latin Glossary*, published by Somner, at the end of his "Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino Anglicanum;" *Oxon*, 1659, fol. In his preface, our author observes, that he undertook this work "for the promotion of sacred studies, especially amongst the young;" and adds, "It is the duty of the servants of God, and ecclesiastical men, to guard against such a want of zeal and learning in our day, as occurred in England but very few years ago, when not a priest could either write or translate a Latin epistle, till Archbishop Dunstan, and Bishop Athelwold, encouraged learning in the monasteries." He also wrote the lives of certain saints, and various epistles, and religious treatises; in particular, a *Compendium of the Old and New Testament*, for Siward, or Sigward, a Saxon nobleman, published with an English version in 1638, 4to. by William L'Isle, Esq. of Wilburgham; to which

(60) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. pp. 378, 379.

was appended Archbishop Parker's "Testimonie of Antiquitie."[61]

In this "Compendium," we are informed of those parts of the sacred volume which Elfric translated into the vernacular language. The list is as follows:

The PENTATEUCH.—The translation of *Genesis* is preceded by a prefatory address to the "Ealdorman Æthelwærd," who, he tells us, had requested him to translate it into English, as far as the history of Isaac, from which period some other person had made a version of it before his time. The preface concludes with the following adjuration: "If any one transcribe this book, I adjure him by the name of God, carefully to correct his copy by the autograph; lest by any mistake of the copier, persons should be led into errors; the guilt of which will, nevertheless, devolve upon the transcriber, and not upon me."[62]

JOSHUA.—"This book," he remarks, "I turned into English, for Prince Ethelwerd."

JUDGES.

Some parts of the BOOKS OF KINGS. Under the Books of Kings, were comprehended the Books of Samuel, of Kings, and of Chronicles.

ESTHER.

JOB.—All that we have of Job, is probably collected from Elfric's Homily upon the History of Job.

JUDITH.—"Englished," says he in the *Compendium*, "according to my skill, for your example, that ye may also defend your country by force of arms against the invasion of a foreign host." This was written when the Danes used to invade the land.

MACCABEES,—two books.[63]

These translations were made by Elfric, from the Latin,

(61) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. *ut sup.*
(62) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. *ut sup.*
(63) Baber's Wiclif's New Testament, p. lxiii.

for in his Preface to Genesis, he remarks, "Nothing should be written in the English but what is found in the Latin; nor should the order of the words be changed, except when the Latin and English modes of expression differ. For he who interprets, or translates from the Latin into English, should carefully preserve the English idiom, or else those who are unacquainted with the idiom of the Latin, may be led into many errors."

It must, however, be observed, that these are not complete versions of the above-mentioned books, since the object of the translator was to furnish his countrymen with a translation of those parts of the Scriptures only, which he conceived to be most important for them to know; as for instance, in *Genesis*, several parts of the 10th, 22nd, 23rd, 26th, and 36th chapters are omitted: *Exodus* terminates with the 4th verse of the 35th chapter: *Leviticus* contains only what relates to the moral law, nearly the whole of what refers to the ceremonial being omitted. *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, and *Joshua*, are also incomplete; and the book of *Judges* concludes with the last verse of the 16th chapter. In many instances he has epitomized the history and precepts, and in others given a verbal translation.[64]

The *Heptateuch*, the Book of *Job*, and the imperfect History of *Judith*, were published in 1698, in 8vo. by Edward Thwaites, of Queen's College, Oxford. The Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus was added to this edition.

In the library of Benet College, Cambridge, is a MS. containing a *Saxon* version of the GOSPELS, by an unknown author. It was written a little before the conquest; and appears to be a transcript of an older MS. The Bodleian Library contains a MS. of the same version, which bears evidence of having been written at various times, by different persons; and Dr. Marshall supposes, that the Gospel of St. Matthew alone, had two different

(64) Usserii Hist. Dogmat, pp. 385. 387.

translators, or interpreters. He also tells us, that in the front of a *Saxon* MS. of the Gospels belonging to the public library at Cambridge, there is written, in an old hand, in Latin and *Anglo-Saxon:* "This book gave Leofric, bishop of the church of St. Peter, in Exeter, for the use of his successors;" and that this Leofric died A. D. 1071, or 1073.[65]

The Bodleian MS. belonged formerly to *Matthew Parker,* archbishop of Canterbury, under whose direction it was published by *John Fox,* the martyrologist, in 1571, 4to. and dedicated by him to Queen Elizabeth. The presentation copy, which was given by Fox into the Queen's own hands, is in the British Museum. The *Gospels* were printed in large Saxon types, and accompanied with an English version, taken out of the Bishop's Bible. Being found to be inaccurately transcribed, and incorrectly printed, they were afterwards revised by Junius, in conjunction with Dr. Marshall, and were published with the Mœso-Gothic Fragments ascribed to Ulphilas, at Dordrecht, or Dort, in 1665, in 4to. and afterwards reprinted at Amsterdam, in 1684. Dr. Marshall enriched the volume with many observations upon this version, and has particularly noticed those passages which differ from the text of the present Latin Vulgate, but agree with the Codex Bezæ; from which it is concluded, that the Anglo-Saxon was translated from the Vetus Italica, or old Latin version, as it stood previous to the correction of it by Jerom.[66] Beside these editions, William L'Isle published certain fragments of the *Old and New Testament,* at London, in 1638, in 4to. The *Psalter* was also published by the younger Spelman, at London, in 1640, 4to. from a MS. of his father's, and collated with three other copies. The various readings are placed in the margin.—These translations

(65) Baber's Wiclif's New Testament, p. lxi.
Lewis's Hist. of Translations, pp. 6, 7.

(66) Baber's Wiclif's New Testament, *ut sup.*
Marsh's Michaelis, II. ch. vii. sect. 38. pt. i. p. 158. pt. ii. 637.

are of uncertain dates, but are by the learned generally referred to some part of the eighth century.

In the Cotton Library, is a Latin MS. of the PROVERBS OF SOLOMON, partially glossed or translated; the Latin text of which was written in the ninth century; and the Anglo-Saxon interlineary gloss, probably, in the tenth.[67]

It appears also that about this period, the whole of the Divine Offices either were performed in the vernacular tongue, or at least were translated into it, for the benefit of the unlearned; for in the library of Benet College, Cambridge, there is a Latin and Saxon Missal, probably of this age, to which the following note is prefixed: "This book was usually called the *Derby-Red-Book,* in the mountainous parts of Derbyshire, where it was held in such veneration and honour, that it was commonly believed, that whoever should forswear himself on that book, would lose his senses.[68]

The old GERMAN, or TEUTONIC translation of the PSALMS, and of the book of JOB, by NOTKER, is of rather uncertain date, though the evidence seems to place it at the conclusion of the tenth, or commencement of the eleventh century. This uncertainty has arisen, chiefly, from the work having been attributed to different persons of the same name, all belonging to the monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland, and all of them men of learning and talents. The first of these, surnamed *Balbulus,* or the Stammerer, was of a noble family, and the author of a number of hymns, some of which are still sung in the church. His death is placed in the year 912. The second was skilled in medicine, excelled in the art of painting, was grave and severe in his habits, illustrious in his virtues, and noble in his descent. His surnames were various, in particular, from his medical knowledge, he was denominated *Physicus,* or *Medicus,* the Physician; from the severity of

(67) Baber's Wiclif's New Testament, p. lxii,
(68) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 129.

his monastic discipline, *Piperis Granum*, the grain of pepper; and from his skill in painting, *Pictor*, or the Painter. He died about A. D. 975. The third, who was called *Labeo*, from his having thick lips, was a man of deep piety, and extensive learning, and passed into a better world, A. D. 1022. The translation of the Psalms is most generally attributed to NOTKER, surnamed *Labeo*, who is said to have undertaken it for the benefit of the monks under his care, that they might understand what they sang.[69] The following is a specimen of this version:

Psalm I.

1. Der man ist salig, der in dero argon rat ne gegieng.
   Noh an dero sundigon uuege ne stuont.
   Noh an demo suhstuole ne saz.
2. Nube der ist salig, tes uuillo an Gotes eo ist, unde der dara ana denchet tag unde naht.[70]

The learned Schilter has published a correct edition of this translation of the Psalms, the Book of Job being lost, in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum*, with the title, "Notkeri Tertii Labeonis Psalterium: e Latino in Theotiscam Veterem Linguam versum, et Paraphrasi illustratum. E Manuscripto Codice pervetusto Dn. de la Loubere. Primus eruit, et describi, dum viveret, curavit. Tum interpretatione et notis ornavit Io. Schilterus. Ulmæ, 1726." It is preceded by a Critical and Historical Dissertation, by Franck.

A copy of this version was written by the younger Ekkerard, a monk of Mentz, by order, and for the use, of the Empress Cunegundis, wife of the Emperor Henry II. about the year 1004. After the decease of the emperor, the pious empress embraced the monastic life, and spent her time chiefly in reading the Holy Scriptures, either privately, or to her attendants.[71]

(69) Schilteri Thesaurus, I. Franckii Dissert. pp. i—xv.
(70) Schilteri Thesaurus, pp. 1, 3.
(71) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacr. p. 375. Paris, 1723, fol.
Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 130.

In the EAST, an ARABIC translation of the Scriptures was made by R. SAADIAS GAON. Pocock, Walton, and several other Biblical critics affirm, that he translated the whole of the Old Testament; and Pocock assures us, that he had in his possession, other portions of his translation beside the PENTATEUCH.[72] Others, and in particular Wolfius, have asserted, that Saadias only translated the Pentateuch, and appeal to the Jewish writers, who notice his version of the *Law*; but are silent as to any translations of the other parts of the Scriptures by him.[73] The version of Saadias is irregular, and frequently more paraphrastical than literal. The PENTATEUCH of this version was first printed by the Jews, at Constantinople, in the Hebrew letters, A.D. 1546, fol. It was accompanied with the *Chaldee* Targum of Onkelos; the *Persic* version by *R. Jacob*, surnamed *Tawosus*, or *Tusius*, from the city of Tus, where there was a celebrated academy; and the Commentary of *R. Salomon Jarchi*, or *Rashi*.[74] It was afterwards published in the Polyglotts of London and Paris.

R. SAADIAS, surnamed *Gaon*, or the Excellent, a title of honour bestowed upon the more celebrated Jewish doctors during the middle ages, was a native of Al Fiumi, in Egypt, where he was born about A. D. 892. In 927, he was called out of Egypt by the Æchmalotarch, or Prince of the Captivity, *David ben Zachai*, and appointed Rector, or Head of the Academy of *Sora*, with the general superintendency of the Babylonian schools. This important office he discharged with considerable success. His first care was to cure of their error, those of his nation, who held the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; an opinion prevalent among the Persians and Arabians, and which

(72) Pocockii Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 361. Oxon. 1650, 4to. Ibid. Præfatis variis lect. Arab. in Waltoni Polyglott, VI.—Waltoni Proleg. 14. sect. 15.

(73) Wolfii Biblioth. Heb. I. p. 934; Hamb: and Lips. 1715, 4to.

(74) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacr. I. pt. ii. sect. 5. p. 118. and sect. 7. p. 159. edit. Masch. Bibliographical Dict. I. pp. 243. 264.

many of the Jews had entertained prior to the time of our Saviour. In this laudable undertaking he had made some progress, notwithstanding the inveterate prejudices of his countrymen; when an unfortunate dispute took place betwixt him and David, the Prince of the Captivity, who had requested him to sign a regulation he had made against the laws, which Saadias deeming unjust, had refused. The refusal incensed David; he upbraided Saadias with ingratitude, and sent his son to threaten him with the loss of his head, if he did not obey his orders. The Rabbi informed his scholars of the threat he had received, who at once mutinied against the prince, and attacking him in a body, beat him severely. The nation followed the example of its heads, and divided into parties. The faction of Saadias for a while prevailed; David was deposed, and his brother Joseph proclaimed Prince of the Captivity. But the authority of the newly-elected prince did not last long; for David, supported by his friends, was soon enabled to resume the government; and Saadias was obliged to save himself by flight. He continued in retirement about seven years, during which time he wrote the greater part of his works. He at length returned, that he might be reconciled to the prince, and surviving him, enjoyed the peaceable possession of the academy. He died, A. D. 942, aged 50. He was the author of several *Grammatical*, and other works, beside the Arabic translation of the Scriptures, and *Commentaries on Job*, *Daniel*, and the *Song of Solomon*.[75] He seems also to have contributed his part towards the *Masora*; for Leusden (*Philolog. Heb. Diss.* 22,) tells us, that this laborious rabbi enumerated all the Hebrew letters in the Old Testament, and expressed their several numbers in an Hebrew poem.[76]

R. Moses was another celebrated Jew of this age.

(75) Wolfii Biblioth. Heb. I. pp. 932—936.
Fabricy, Titres Primitifs, II. pp. 242. 246. 257.
Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. vii. ch. iv. p. 601.

(76) Kennicott's Dissertations on the Heb. Text, Diss. 2. p. 453.

He was born in the East, and was taken, when on a voyage, by privateers, and carried with his son to the coast of Spain, where he was ransomed by the Jews of Cordova. This they did out of charity, without any knowledge of his learning and worth. But some time afterwards, placing himself in the corner of a school or academy, as a layman and beggar, clothed only with a sack, from which he was called *Moses clad with a sack*, he argued so profoundly upon all the questions that were proposed, that the president of the school was filled with admiration, and yielded up his place to him. This occasioned his appointment to the office of Judge of the nation, with a liberal salary. His honours did not, however, prevent him from wishing to return to his native land, and to die there; and he had already formed the resolution to quit Spain, when the caliph forbade his departure.

At the time of this event, the *Talmud* was but very little known in Spain, so that when any controversy arose, the synagogues sent deputies to Bagdat, to obtain a decision. Even the prayers recited in the Spanish synagogues on the days of affliction, and particularly on that of the expiations, were composed by Armissim, head of one of the academies of Babylon. The Caliph Hakim was, therefore, exceedingly glad to find that *Moses clad with a sack* was capable of instructing the Jews under his government, in the knowledge of the Talmud. This led to the detention of the rabbi, for the caliph hoped by this means to prevent the deputations of his subjects to the East, where the Abassides, the enemies of his house, then reigned. Moses continued in possession of his judicial authority till his decease in 997, when he was succeeded in it by his son Enoch.

Haschem II. having ascended the throne of Cordova, not only continued the measures adopted by his father in behalf of his Jewish subjects, but also ordered that the TALMUD should be translated into *Arabic*. R. Joseph,

the disciple of Moses, undertook this great work, and very successfully accomplished it; but grew so haughty upon it, that he could no longer bear that Enoch should be judge of the nation in preference to himself. This occasioned a violent quarrel betwixt them, in which the different synagogues engaged; but Enoch's party being the most powerful, Joseph was excommunicated. He appealed to the Caliph, but in vain. Thus deprived of the protection he expected from the court, he left Spain for Bagdat, where he hoped to find a retreat near the famous Hay, head of the academies of *Pheruts Shibbur*, and *Pundebitha*, and also Prince of the Captivity;* but in this too he was disappointed, for R. Hay gave him to understand, that he could not receive him, because he was excommunicated by the Spanish synagogues. He remained therefore at Damascus, where he died, without being able to obtain a revocation of the sentence which had been pronounced against him.(77)

* The *Princes of the Captivity*, or Heads of the Captivity, called also *Æchmalotarchs*, were the chiefs or leaders of the Jewish captives in Babylon and the East; as the Jewish *Patriarchs* were in Judea and the West, and were installed with great pomp and ceremony. They conferred ordination on the heads of the synagogues, and exercised authority over all the Oriental Jews. See Lewis's Antiquities of the Hebrew Republick, III. B. vi. ch. vi. and Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. vi. ch. xiii.

(77) Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. vii. ch. v. p. 606.

CHAPTER IX.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Dark state of England. Marianus Scotus. Saxon MSS. Lanfranc. Anselm. Ingulph. Promotion of Literature. France. Theodoric. Ivo. Correction of Vulgate. Vernacular Translations. Latin Versions of Psalms, called the Gallican, Roman, and Hebraick. Germany. Willeram. Reimbold. MSS. Gregory VII. Crusades.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY, to which we are now advanced, presents a scene still dark and gloomy. The following anecdote will serve to mark its character: A considerable part of the gold and jewels belonging to the church of Laon, in France, had been stolen. The thief could not be discovered; a general meeting of the canons and principal citizens was therefore called. Uncertain what to do, they unanimously agreed to take the opinion of Anselm, the bishop of the city, who was universally regarded as an oracle. Anselm revolved the business in his mind, and, recollecting the passage in the book of Joshua, where it is related in what manner a secret theft had been detected by the casting of lots; "It is my advice," said he, "having weighed the matter most deliberately, that you try to discover the author of this horrid crime by the *ordeal* of water. Let an infant be taken from each parish, and cast into a vessel of holy water: from the child which sinks, will the guilty parish be known. Then, from each house of this parish take another infant: which will shew you the guilty house. You can be no longer at a loss: throw every man and woman belonging to the house into tubs of holy water, and guilt will be concealed no longer."

The experiment is supposed to have succeeded, and the thief is said to have been a person to whose care the rich ornaments of the church had been entrusted.[1]—A learned writer, therefore, justly remarks: in this "century the state of ENGLAND was superlatively wretched. In consequence of the successful invasion of the ferocious Danes, murder and rapine marched hand in hand through the kingdom, with wasteful triumph. This scene of horror and desolation was quickly abandoned by the muses, and, in the absence of learning, religion, corrupted by repeated abuses, soon degenerated into superstition. In these calamitous times, and for some ages after, those who presided over that hallowed fountain of living waters, the Scriptures, suffered them to flow with only a niggardly stream, and that polluted."[2]

In 1017, Canute the Dane obtained the English throne. Amongst the ecclesiastical laws issued by him, is one, enjoining an acquaintance with the *Lord's-Prayer*, and *Creed:* "We charge that every Christian learn to know, at the least, the right faith, and be expert at *Pater Noster, and Credo.* For with one of them the Christian should pray to God, and with the other declare his right faith. Christ himself first sang *Pater Noster*, and taught that prayer to his disciples; and in this divine prayer are seven petitions. He that inwardly sings this, does his own message to God for every necessary want, either in relation to this, or the future life. But how can a man ever pray inwardly to God, unless he have an inward faith in him? Therefore, he hath no Christian communion in the consecrated places of rest, after death; nor is he capable of the Housel, (or eucharist) in this life, nor is he a good Christian, who will not learn it: nor can he be surety for another at baptism, much more at the bi-

(1) Berrington's Lives of Abelard and Heloisa, B, ii. p. 59. Birmingham, 1788, 4to.

(2) Baber's Wiclif's New Testament, p. lxiii.]

shop's hands, (i. e. confirmation) till he have first learned well to rehearse it."[3]

This law is, of itself, sufficient to prove the very low state of religious knowledge at this period; and the information to be gleaned from different writers, respecting the attention paid to the Holy Scriptures, during the reign of Canute, is exceedingly scanty. Warton mentions a DANO-SAXON HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS, which formerly belonged to that king, and which is still in the Cotton Library. It is adorned with paintings, and bears the title of *Evangelia IV. sermone Danico*, written by a later hand than the Harmony itself. The name *Jesus, or Christ*, is scarcely ever used in it, but instead of it the term, *Godes barn*, the Son of God.[4] In the British Museum, a copy of the *Latin* GOSPELS is preserved, "remarkable for having in it the signature of King Canute with a charter, in Saxon, confirming the privileges of the church. The last leaf of St. John's Gospel is wanting."[5] And in the Cotton Library there is also a *Latin* PSALTER, accompanied with the *Songs of the Old and New Testament*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Athanasian* and *Apostles' Creeds;* to which an interlineary *Saxon* Version is added by an anonymous hand. By a computation at the end of the book it appears to have been written in the year 1049.[6]

About the middle of this century, *Mariamus Scotus*, having left the monastery of Dunkeld in North Britain, went to Germany, and settled at Ratisbon, where he, with several of his countrymen, taught both sacred and profane learning, and where he founded a monastery for the Scots, in 1074; he and his companions having acquired great reputation by their piety, zeal, and knowledge.[7]

(3) Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, A. D. MXVII.
(4) Wartoni Auctarium, pp. 388, 389.
(5) Classical Journal, No. 15, September 1813. p. 150.
(6) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 132.
(7) Butler's Lives, IX. Sep. 5. p. 61. Note.

From the journal of the indefatigable and learned Humphrey Wanley, it appears that the library of these missionaries was extant in the last century;—the following are his words:. "10 August, 1720, Mr. O'Sullivan likewise acquainted me, that the library of those learned men, who went from Ireland with Marianus Scotus, A. D. 1058, is yet remaining in some church at Ratisbon, and has lately been seen there.[8]

The disturbed state of England, by the sanguinary contests of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, and the frequent change of government, were, for many years, highly detrimental to the interests of religion and literature; but after the Conquest by William of Normandy, letters were more cultivated, and learning began to re-illume our island, though a long time elapsed before its benignant light beamed upon the science of theology. In the catalogue of Saxon MSS. compiled by H. Wanley, and forming the second volume of Hickes's *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*, we meet with a few MSS. of the PSALTER, sometimes accompanied by the Sacred Songs of the Scriptures, and the hymns of the church, apparently written about the time of the Conquest. Of the GOSPELS in the Normanno-Saxon dialect, there are only three MSS. yet discovered to exist; the one supposed to have been written in the reign of William the Conqueror, and the other two about the time of Henry II. The former of these is deposited in the Public Library at Cambridge; of the latter, one is among the Hatton MSS. in the Bodleian Library, the other in the British Museum; and from the general agreement that subsists between the texts of these MSS. it is very manifest, that they are all transcripts of the same version.[9] Saxon literature had, in fact, long been in its decline, and we may date its fall to about one

(8) Nichols's Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, I. p. 87. Lond. 1812, 8vo.

(9) Baber's Wiclif's New Testament, p. lxiv.

hundred years after the Conquest, when the language had been so far changed as to have assumed that form which entitles it to the appellation of English. "Those of the clergy who were occupied in the pursuits of literature, sought it rather in the paths to which they were directed by interest and ambition, than by piety. Even among the few, who, duly impressed with the importance and sanctity of their vocation, were diligent to inform themselves, that they might be better qualified to instruct others, little could be expected from their studies, which would illuminate their own minds, or those committed to their solemn charge; for as their reading was seldom extended beyond scraps of Scriptural history, hideously disfigured, and incredible legends, which were equally at variance with reason and truth, they only produced feeble and erroneous expositions of the Oracles of God, and delivered unedifying homilies."[10]

The attempt of the Conqueror to introduce the use of the *French* language into his newly-acquired dominions, and the appointment of Norman ecclesiastics, who were ignorant of the vernacular tongue, to the best bishoprics and abbacies in the kingdom, checked the diffusion of knowledge among the English laity, and sank the lower orders into superstitious darkness, whilst they served to restrict scientific information to the clergy, and to hasten the decay of the Saxon dialect.—The laws were ordered to be administered in French; and even children at school were forbidden to read in their native language, and ordered to be instructed in a knowledge of the Norman only. In the year 1095, Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, was deposed by the abitrary Normans, who objected against him, that he was "a superannuated English idiot, who could not speak French," though he appears to have been a pious and diligent scholar; for it was his practice, to have the Latin Scriptures regularly

(10) Baber's Wiclif's New Testament, *ut sup.*

read at his table, when he explained them in English to the illiterate, and held conferences upon them with the more learned. It is true, that in some of the monasteries, particularly at Croyland and Tavistock, founded by Saxon princes, there were regular preceptors in the Saxon language; but this institution was suffered to remain, after the Conquest, only as a matter of interest and necessity, since the religious could not otherwise have understood their original charters. In the reign of Henry II. the nobles constantly sent their children into France, lest they should contract habits of barbarism in their speech, which could not have been avoided in an English education. Even the transcribers of Saxon books changed the Saxon orthography for the Norman, and in the place of the original Saxon, substituted Norman words and phrases, a remarkable instance of which appears in a voluminous collection of *Saxon Homilies*, preserved in the Bodleian Library, and written about the time of Henry II. It was afterwards, by various statutes, ordered that the students of our universities should converse either in French or Latin. But from the declension of the power of the barons, and the prevalence of the commons, most of whom were of English ancestry, the native language of England again gradually gained ground; till, in the reign of Edward III. an act of parliament was passed, appointing all pleas and proceedings of law to be carried on in English.[11]

Among the learned ecclesiastics invited into England by the Norman William, LANFRANC stands foremost. He was a native of Pavia in Lombardy, born about the year 1005, of a noble family; studied eloquence, and the laws, at Bologna, and was professor of laws in his native city. This charge he resigned in order to travel into Normandy, where he made his monastic profession at Bec, or Bea, about the year 1042. Three years after, he was

(11) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, I. pp. 3—7.
Whartoni Auctarium Hist. Dogmat. Uss. pp. 393, 394.

made prior, and commenced a great school in that monastery, which, by his extraordinary reputation, soon became the most famous at that time in Europe. It is related of him, that on one occasion when a pedantic clerk, surrounded by a gorgeous train of attendants, waited upon him, Lanfranc, by conversing with him, discovered the extreme scantiness of his knowledge, and, to ridicule the ignorance of the pedant, laid a cross-row or alphabet before him; which, however, was so resented, as to expose the teacher to serious dangers. In 1063, he was appointed first abbot of the monastery of St. Stephen, at Caen, by William, the founder, then Duke of Normandy. Four years after his patron had obtained the crown of England, he was called to the see of Canterbury, and was appointed by the pope to be his Legate in England. In this high situation he exerted himself to reform the clergy and monasteries, and to promote the study of the sacred sciences, eloquence, and grammar.[12] By his Constitutions, in 1072, the librarian is ordered to deliver a book to each of the religious, at the beginning of Lent: a whole year is allowed for the perusal of the book; and at the returning Lent, those monks who had neglected to read the books they had respectively received, are commanded to prostrate themselves before the abbot, and to supplicate his indulgence.[13] He was the author of a *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles*, which has never been printed. Beside this, and some other smaller works, he is generally considered as having been the principal author of a *Correctorium Ecclesiasticum*, or critical correction of the Old and New Testament, and ecclesiastical writers. For, having observed that various errors had crept into the Sacred Text, and the works of the Fathers, chiefly through the negligence of transcribers, he, with the assistance of his monks, carefully examined and noted the

(12) Butler's Lives, IV. p. 211. Note.
Berington's Lit. Hist of the Middle Ages, p. 241.
(13) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, I. Diss. 2.

corruptions which had taken place in the Sacred Scriptures, and Fathers, and even in the service books of the church. This work is said to have been held in high estimation both in England and France. His death happened on the 28th of May, 1089. He was buried in Christ Church, Canterbury.[14]

ANSELM, who succeeded Lanfranc in the archbishopric of Canterbury, was born at Aoust in Piedmont. In 1060, he commenced monk, at the age of twenty-seven, at Bec, or Bea, in Normandy, under Lanfranc. He afterwards became prior of the monastery. His progress in religious knowledge was great; but mildness and charity seem to have predominated in all his views of piety. The book commonly called *Augustine's Meditations*, was chiefly abstracted from the writings of Anselm. At the age of forty-five he became Abbot of Bec. His old friend Lanfranc dying in 1089, William Rufus usurped the revenues of the see of Canterbury, and treated the monks of the place in a most barbarous manner. For several years, the profane tyrant declared that none should have the see while he lived; but his conscience being alarmed during a fit of sickness, he nominated Anselm to be the successor of Lanfranc, who, with great difficulty, was prevailed upon to accept the arduous office. The king, on his recovery, resuming his tyrannical measures, the archbishop retired into Calabria with two monks; one of whom, named Eadmer, wrote his life. On the death of his royal persecutor, he returned to England, by the invitation of Henry I. and although he became the strenuous defender of the papal authority, he seems to have been influenced more by the popular prejudices of his day, than by a spirit of ambition, which certainly formed no part of his character. In a national synod, held at St. Peter's, Westminster, *he forbade men to be sold as cattle*, which had till then been practised. Another instance of his humane and pious

(14) Butler, *ubi sup.* Millii Proleg. p. civ.

disposition, given by his biographers, is, that one day as he was riding to the manor of Herse, a hare, pursued by the hounds, ran under his horse for refuge; he stopped, and turning to the hunters, said, "This hare reminds me of a sinner upon the point of departing this life, surrounded with devils, waiting for their prey." The hare starting off, he forbade her to be pursued, and was obeyed. He died in the sixteenth year of his archbishopric, and in the seventy-sixth of his age, on the 21st of April, A. D. 1109.

The works of Anselm are partly scholastical, partly devotional, and demonstrate him to have been a man of genius, as well as piety. In the list of them, we find one entitled, "The Fool refuted," *Liber adversus insipientem*, written against those who ridiculed, and pretended to argue against the divine inspiration of the Scriptures. In this treatise, the ingenuity and acuteness of this great prelate are displayed with good effect. The archbishop was also the real inventor of the argument, erroneously attributed to Descartes, which undertakes to prove the existence of God from the idea of infinite perfection, which is to be found, without exception, in every man's mind.[15]

INGULPH, the abbot of Croyland, an Englishman, was another of the learned men of this age. He died in 1109. He is chiefly celebrated for his "History of the Abbey of Croyland," in which the reader is interested by the simple and ingenuous air of his narrative. It furnishes all the information which the most inquisitive would wish to possess, concerning the abbey, its buildings, its various fortunes, its extensive possessions and immunities, its treasures, its monks, its occupations, and its statutes. From this history, however, it does not appear, that any distinct period was allotted to study by the monks of the abbey; but an account is given of a present of forty large original volumes, of divers doctors, to the common library, and

(15) Milner's Hist of the Church of Christ, III. pp. 307—317. Butler's Lives, IV. Ap. 21. pp. 210—224.

of more than a hundred smaller copies of books on various subjects. Sometimes also the names are mentioned of men, said to have been "deeply versed in every branch of literature."[16] As the transcripts of books multiplied, the permission to inspect them was more liberally conceded than formerly. The historian gives us a specimen of their rules on this point: "We forbade," says he, "under the penalty of excommunication, the lending of our books, as well the smaller without pictures, as the larger with pictures, to distant schools, without the abbot's leave, and his certain knowledge within what time they would be restored. As to the smaller books, as Psalteries, Donatus, Cato, "et similibus poeticis ac quaternis de cantu," adapted to the boys, and the relations of the monks, &c. we forbade to be lent more than one day without leave of the prior."[17] When the fire happened in 1091, which consumed this celebrated abbey, the library contained 700 volumes.

The seeds of knowledge having been sown, many persons began to contribute to the general progress of learning, by assiduously forming LIBRARIES; and more attention was paid in the monasteries to the art of neat and correct writing, that the copies of authors' works might not only be multiplied, but might also be accurate. Without this happy practice, the progress of literature must have been confined to a few individuals, because the cost of books was enormous; and their use, in the great libraries, was much restricted on account of their value. OSMUND, who came over with William the Conqueror, and had been created Earl of Dorset, and borne the highest offices of the state, having embraced a religious life, and been chosen bishop of Sherborn, or Salisbury, collected a noble library; and not only received with great liberality, every ecclesiastic that was distinguished for learning, and persuaded them to reside with him, but copied and bound books with

(16) Berington's Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages, B. iv. p. 255.
(17) Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, I. p. 410. Note.

his own hand.[18] We have another "instance of an individual's patriotic exertion in SIMON of St. Albans, who, from his own taste, maintained liberally two or three select writers in his chamber, where he prepared, says the authority, an invaluable plenty of the best books." He made it a rule in his monastery, that every future abbot should always keep a good writer."[19] Among the other works provided by Simon, were two noble volumes, containing the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT with a gloss. They were kept in a painted press or book-case, with the other transcripts of different authors. This was in the twelfth century! A somewhat similar account is given of a former abbot, of whom it is recorded, that he gave to this church twenty-eight notable volumes, and eight PSALTERS, a Collectary, an Epistolary, a book containing the Gospel Lessons for the whole year, and two TEXTS, or complete volumes of the Scriptures, ornamented with gold, and silver, and gems; beside Ordinals, Consuetudinaries, Missals, Troparies, Collectaria, and other books.[20] The attempts of these learned ecclesiastics, aided by the endeavours of others equally ardent in the cause of literature and science, partially succeeded, and a foundation was laid for that diffusion of knowledge, which, after the lapse of some centuries, produced the Reformation.

In FRANCE, THEODORIC, the learned abbot of St. Evroul, endeavoured to unite an assiduous attention to the offices of religion, with the study of the graphic art, and the diligence of the scribe. His monks were urged to the labours of transcription by the influence of example, and the promise of future recompence. Mabillon, the industrious annalist of the Benedictines, relates, that in order to add weight to his exhortations, Theodoric used to tell a legendary tale of a deceased monk, who, being

(18) Turner's Hist. of England, I. pt. ii. ch. ii. p. 410. Lond. 1814, 4to. Butler's Lives, XII. Dec. 4. pp. 73—75.
(19) Turner's Hist. of England, *ut sup.*
(20) Whitaker's Cathedral of Cornwall, II. p. 317.

brought to the tribunal of God, was accused, by the devils, of numerous crimes which he had committed, but from which he was successfully vindicated by the holy angels, who produced an enormous volume which had been transcribed by him, and in which there was a single letter more than the number of his crimes!

During the eight years that Theodoric presided over this monastery, he procured a transcription of all the books of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT, and of the *Works of Gregory the Great.* The *Antiquarii,* or scribes of St. Evroul, became celebrated for their skill and diligence; and the names of Berengarius, afterwards Bishop of Venosa, Goscelinus, Rodulfus, Bernardus, Turchetillus, and Richard, are mentioned with honour, as transcribers of the works of the Fathers for the library of the monastery of St. Evroul. Theodoric himself bequeathed *a Collectaneum,* or book of Collects, *a Graduale,* and *an Antiphonar* written with his own hand; Rodolfus, his nephew, transcribed a *Missal,* and the *Heptateuch,* or five books of Moses, with Joshua, and Judges; Hugo copied an *Exposition of Ezekiel,* the *Decalogue,* and the first part of Gregory's *Morals;* and Roger, a presbyter, transcribed the third part of the *Morals,* the *Books of Chronicles,* and the books of Solomon.

The value of these labours will be best appreciated by recollecting the scarcity of books at this period, and the excessive prices paid for them by the few who were able to purchase them. Mabillon saw a necrology belonging to the monastery of Jumiege, in which prayers were appointed to be offered up on the 6th of March, for those "who had made and given books on the first day of Lent;" the day on which books were distributed to the monks according to rule. Robert, abbot of Jumiege, and successively bishop of London, and archbishop of Canterbury, presented to his monastery during the time he held the bishopric of London, a book called a *Sacra-*

mentary, containing all the prayers and ceremonies practised at the celebration of the sacraments. This present was accompanied also with various rich ornaments for the sacred services. At the close of the book an anathema was denounced against any one who should steal the book, or any of the ornaments of the monastery; which concluded in terms that strongly mark the value of books, and, in the donor's views, the preference of the book which he had given, to the other articles of his donation:—"If any one take away this book from this place by force, or fraud, or any other way, let him suffer the loss of his soul for what he has done; let him be blotted out of the book of life, and not be written among the just; and let *him* be condemned to the severest excommunication, who shall take away any of the vestments which I have given to this place, or the other ornaments, the silver candlesticks, or the gold from the table. Amen."[21]

Ivo, bishop of Chartres, who flourished about A. D. 1092, seems to have been desirous to promote the knowledge of the Scriptures, both among the clergy and laity. In a discourse on the excellency of the sacred order, delivered before the synod, we meet with some judicious advice, addressed to those, who, from their office, were denominated *Readers:* "Let those," says he, "who aspire to this degree, be well instructed in literature, that they may understand the meaning of words, and be acquainted with the use of accents, and read distinctly, lest their auditors should be prevented, by a confused pronunciation, from understanding what is read. Let them distinguish between what is to be read affirmatively, and what is to be read interrogatively; and carefully note the various stops and pauses of the discourse; for where they are neglected, they disturb the mind, and provoke the con-

(21) Mabillon, Annales Ord. Benedict. IV. pp. 461, 462, 518, 519. Lut. Paris. 1707, fol.

tempt of grammarians. A reader should consult both the heart and the ear.[22]

Among the more learned of the monastic orders, there were some who saw and deplored the corruptions which had taken place in the copies of the Holy Scriptures, by the carelessness and incompetency of the transcribers, and attempted to render them more correct. WILLIAM, abbot of Hirsauge, in the diocese of Spire, was one of these enlightened and valuable men. In his monastery there was a monk of a noble family, who had made unusual progress in sacred literature, of the name of *Theotger*: this able scholar, with another of the same fraternity equally learned, named *Haymon*, he employed in correcting the Vulgate version, endeavouring to restore it to its original purity, amending the punctuation, and forming proper divisions. The revised copy, Trithemius says, was in his time still preserved in the library of the monastery. Theotger was the author of a work *On Music*, of brief *Notes on the Psalms*, and of *Sermons*, and *Epistles*.[23]

The greater part of those studious monks who endeavoured to increase the general stock of knowledge, by their literary productions, either spent their time in compiling the *Lives of Saints*, or devoted their talents to writing *Commentaries*, or *Glosses*, on select portions of the Bible, whilst but few were found who were willing to employ themselves in transcribing and multiplying correct copies of the Scriptures themselves: and even with respect to literary pursuits in general, there was an astonishing diversity of practice in the different orders, according to the views of their respective founders, and the consequent tenor of the rules by which they were governed; as well as in the different religious houses of the same or-

(22) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 136.

(23) Trithemii Chronicon Hirsaugiense, I. pp. 282, 283. Monast. S. Gall. 1690, fol.
Mabillon, Annales, V. p. 277.

der, according to the abilities, and dispositions of the favourable, or unfavourable abbots, or the leading characters of the several fraternities. The bequests, or donations, of certain of the abbots of the famous monastery of Clugni, will sufficiently evince the great dissimilarity of literary encouragement, in the governors of conventual establishments: Hugo, who became abbot A. D. 1199, and died A. D. 1207, presented several valuable gifts to the monastery, "especially all his best books, among which was nearly the whole of a *Gloss upon the Old and New Testament.*"—Ivo I. the 25th abbot, who began to govern A. D. 1257, and died A. D. 1275, bestowed many costly gifts upon the monastery, among others, "a *Missal;* the Text of the *Gospels;* an *Epistolarium,* covered with silver; a *Collectary,* and a large book of *Capitulars;* also, an *Exposition of the Gospels,* to be read in the refectory; and twenty-two books placed in the cloister, fastened with chains:"—Andruinus I. the 34th abbot, who commenced his government of the abbey, A. D. 1351, was afterwards created cardinal, and died A. D. 1360: beside other donations, he gave as "many *books* as were estimated at upwards of 2000 francs."—Lastly, John III. the 42nd abbot, who was raised to that dignity A. D. 1456, and died A. D. 1485, was not only princely in other gifts which he presented to his monastery, but singularly generous in his literary donations, which prove him to have been an extensive book-collector, and a great patron of the then newly invented art of printing, as well as what the moderns have designated a *bibliomaniac.* In the list of the books given by him to this convent, are, fifteen volumes, on *parchment, illuminated,* and *bound,* consisting of *Augustine's City of God; Vincent's Historiale Speculum, &c.* twelve other volumes on *parchment,* including an *Exposition* of part of the New Testament, from *II. Corinthians* to *Hebrews* inclusive; *Comestor's Historia Scholastica; Legenda aurea; &c.* all of which were in MS.

eighty-three other volumes, on *paper*, mostly *printed*, among which were, *De Lyra's Commentary on the Old and New Testament; Turrecremata on the Psalms; S. Thomas Aquinas on Matthew, Mark, Luke,* and *John; Mamotrectus, &c.*[24]

Some attempts were however made to render the Scriptures more generally useful, by translating select parts of them into some of the vernacular dialects of the continent. Le Long mentions a PSALTER or two, still extant, written in the old FRENCH or *Norman* dialect of the eleventh century; a translation of the books of KINGS, probably made about the year 1080, and one of rather a later date, of the two books of the MACCABEES. The principal translation of the *Psalms* into *Norman French*, and one of those referred to by Le Long, is found in a magnificent POLYGLOTT PSALTER preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It contains three of the most celebrated versions of the Latin Psalms, usually called the *Gallican*, the *Roman*, and the *Hebraick*, with a preface, prayer, and commentary, subjoined to each Psalm. The Gallican Latin version is accompanied with a gloss, or brief commentary; the Roman with an interlineary *Normanno-Saxon* version; and the Hebraick with the *Norman-French* version. The whole forms a large folio volume, written on vellum, and richly illuminated and ornamented with miniatures and historical paintings, by Eadwin, a monk, who is supposed to have flourished in the reign of Stephen, king of England, about A. D. 1136.[25]

The following remarks by Dr. Waterland, will elucidate the nature of these different Latin versions: "There are four kinds of Latin Psalters, which have passed under the names of *Italick, Roman, Gallican and Hebraick*. The *Italick* Latin psalter is of the old translation, such

(24) Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, pp. 1663, 1664. 1667. 1672. 1681—1684. Lutet. Paris, 1614, fol.

(25) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. p. 323. 7. Paris, 1723, fol.

as it was before St. Jerom's time. The *Roman* psalter is not very different from the old *Italick*. It is nothing else but the old version, cursorily, and in part, corrected by Jerom, in the time of Pope Damasus, A. D. 383. It has had the name of *Roman*, because the use of it began the soonest, and continued the longest, in the Roman offices. It obtained in Gaul nearly as soon as at Rome, but was laid aside in the sixth century, when Gregory of Tours introduced the other psalter, since called *Gallican*. The *Gallican* psalter is Jerom's more correct Latin translation, made from Origen's Hexaplar, or most correct edition of the Greek Septuagint, filled up where the Greek was supposed faulty, from the Hebrew; distinguished with obelisks and asterisks, denoting the common Greek version, in those places, to be either redundant or deficient. This more correct psalter was drawn up by Jerom, in the year 389, and obtained first in Gaul, about the year 580, or however not later than 595; from which circumstance it came to have the name of *Gallican*, in contradistinction to the *Roman*. From Gaul it passed over into England, before the year 597, and into Germany and Spain, and other countries. The popes of Rome, though they themselves used the other psalter, yet patiently connived at the use of this, in the Western churches, and even in Italy; and sometimes privately authorized the use of it in churches and monasteries; till, at length, it was publicly authorized in the Council of Trent, and introduced awhile after into Rome itself, by Pius V. It was admitted into Britain and Ireland before the coming of Augustine, the monk, and prevailed after, except in the church of Canterbury, which was more immediately under the archbishop's eye, and more conformable to the Roman offices, than other parts of the kingdom. It has been said, (Hodius de Text. Bibl. Orig. p. 384,) that this very *Gallican* psalter is what we still retain in our Liturgy, called the

reading Psalms, in contradistinction to the other Psalms in our Bibles, of the new translation. But this is not strictly true; for the old translation, though it be taken in a great measure from the *Gallican,* has yet many corrections from the Hebrew, (where they were thought wanting,) first by *Coverdale* in 1535, and by *Coverdale* again in 1539, and last of all by *Tonstall* and *Heath* in 1541: according to which edition is the Psalter now used in our Liturgy. (Durell Eccles. Anglican. vindic. p. 306.) The *Hebraick* Latin psalter means Jerom's own translation, immediately from the Hebrew, made in the year 391. This, though otherwise of great esteem, was never used in the public church offices."[26]

In GERMANY, the abbot Willeram was the author of a twofold paraphrase of the CANTICLES. The first of which is a rythmical *Latin* one; the other a prose one, in the old FRANCIC or *German* dialect. The best edition of this work is by Schilter, published in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatem Teutonicarum,* Tom. I.

WILLERAM was a native of Franconia. His acquaintance with letters and philosophy was principally obtained in the schools of Paris, from whence returning into his native country, he was elected *Scholasticus* of the church of Bamberg. But, notwithstanding his elevation to the ecclesiastical dignity, he continued his former friendships and habits; till "at length," says Trithemius, "being convinced of the transitory nature of the vain glory of this world, and contemning worldly things for the love of God, he put on the habit of a monk in the monastery of Fulda; and by increasing in merit, was at last chosen abbot of Mersburg." Beside the paraphrase on Solomon's song, he wrote a number of sermons and epistles. He flourished in the reign of Henry IV. about A. D. 1080.[27]

(26) Waterland on the Athanasian Creed, pp. 112—117. Cam. 1728, 8vo.
(27) Trithemius in Catal. Viror. Illustr. Germ. see Schilteri Thesaurus, I. in Præfat. Willerami in Cantic. &c.

REIMBOLD, first abbot of Muri, in Helvetia, about A.D. 1027, not only furnished the abbey with two bells, which he purchased at Strasburgh; but procured also, *Transcripts of the* BIBLE, Hymns, Homilies, and Legends; the books of Homer, Æsop's Moral Apologues, some of Ovid's Poems, the Histories of Sallust, and other valuable works. His monks, treading in his steps, established a school, where they taught the rudiments of science.[28]

Montfaucon, in his *Diarium Italicum*, or Travels through Italy, notices several works written or transcribed in the *eleventh* century, and deposited in the different libraries of Italy. They chiefly consist of copies of various parts of the Scriptures, of the works of the Fathers, and books of ecclesiastical offices, and lives of the saints. Some of them have curious inscriptions. In the Duke of Modena's library, is a *Psalter* most elegantly written, on the front of which is inscribed in Greek: "This Book is deposited in the holy monastery, for the remission of the sins of the monk Theodosius Xylata; let him who reads it through the Lord, praise him, and pray for his soul." In the library of the monastery of Mount Cassino, is a MS. containing the *Lessons for the Vigils*, to which the following note is prefixed: "In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1072, and the 10th Indiction, at the time when the venerable *Desiderius*, the 37th abbot after the decease of our most holy and illustrious Father *Benedict*, presided in this venerable monastery of Mount *Cassino*, where the bodies of our said holy father and lawgiver, and of his renowned sister *Scholastica*, lie honourably buried; among the other monuments of his great works, wherein he wonderfully outdid all his predecessors, he also caused this most beautiful book to be writ, containing the lessons that are to be read on the Vigils or eves of the principal festivals, that is, of the Nativity of Our

(28) Planta's Hist. of the Helvetic Confederacy, I. ch. iii. p. 142. Lond. 1807, 8vo.

Lord, St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, the Epiphany, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and Pentecost, which book, I, brother *John* of *Marsicana*, long since archpriest of the church, but now the meanest servant of that holy place, did cause to be composed at my own proper charge, for the salvation of me and mine; and devoutly offered it to the said most holy father *Benedict*, on his holy altar, on the day when I took his habit upon me. Farther praying, that if any man shall, on any pretence whatsoever, presume to take it from this holy place, he may have his eternal mansion with those to whom CHRIST at the last judgment shall say: Depart from me into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."

"But whosoever you are that read these lines, fail not also to read the distich underneath:"

"Hujus scriptorem libri, pie Christe, Leonem
In Libro Vitæ dignanter supplico scribe."
"Blest Saviour! in thy Book of Life divine,
May Leo's* favour'd name illustrious shine."

This MS. is accompanied with an historical painting, which Montfaucon has caused to be engraved, representing *John of Marsicana* receiving the monk's cowl from *St. Benedict;* and *Desiderius* presenting the volume to the Saint.

Another MS. mentioned by the learned author of the *Diarium*, deserves to be noticed as a rare instance of the study of the Sacred Writings, in an age of darkness and illiteracy. It is a handsome volume on vellum; and contains first, all the quotations and testimonies from the Old Testament, that are to be found in the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul; and secondly, all the quotations from profane and apocryphal writers in those Epistles. It is preserved in the library of the monastery of St. Basil, at Rome. In the same library there is also a Latin Bible, curiously written in this century, on vellum, containing *Genesis*, to the Book of *Judges*, with Origen's notes in

* The transcriber of the book. ED.

the margin; but imperfect at the beginning and end.[29]

From the tranquil pursuits of the man of letters, and the solemn stillness of the monastic library, we turn reluctantly to mark the conduct of an imperious pontiff. On the elevation of HILDEBRAND to the pontificate, in 1073, he assumed the name of GREGORY VII. The famous *Sentences*, relating to the supreme authority of the Roman pontiffs, over the universal church, and the kingdoms of the world, said to have been composed by him, and from him termed the DICTATES OF HILDEBRAND, sufficiently demonstrate the fierce impetuosity, and boundless ambition of his character. The *twelfth* of these dictates affirms, "That it is lawful (for the pope) to dethrone sovereigns;" the *seventeenth* impiously declares, "That no book is to be deemed *canonical* without his authority;" and the *twenty-seventh* haughtily asserts, "That he may absolve the subjects of heretical princes, (iniquorum) from their oath of fidelity." And although it may be disputed whether Gregory published the dictates in their present form, it must be granted, that the greatest part of them are repeated word for word in several places in his *Epistles*, and that the whole of them are characteristic of that imperious pontiff.[30]

In 1080, Uratislaus, the king of Bohemia, expressed a wish to Gregory, to have the offices, or prayers of the church, performed in the SLAVONIAN tongue, at that time the common language of the north of Europe; but the pontiff forbade it, and haughtily replied; "I will never consent for service to be performed in the Slavonian tongue. It is the will of God that his Word should be hidden, lest it should be despised if read by every one; and if, in condescension to the weakness of the people, the contrary has been permitted, it is a fault which ought

(29) Montfaucon's Travels through Italy, ch. iii. p. 44; ch. xv. p. 250; ch. xxii. p. 381.

(30) Usserii Gravissimæ Questionis &c. ch. v. p. 124. Lond. 1613, 4to. Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. II. p. 492, *Note.*

to be corrected. The demand of your subjects is imprudent. I shall oppose it with the authority of St. Peter; and you ought, for the glory of God, to resist it with all your power."[31] A decision very different from that of his predecessor John VIII. about A. D. 880. A request of a similar nature having been made to him, he replied by blessing God, that the Slavonian characters had been invented, thereby enabling every man to praise the Lord in his own language; and, defending his conduct by the example of the Apostles, remarked, that he apprehended no danger from the use of the public services in the vernacular dialect, provided that they read the *Gospel* in Latin first, and then interpreted it to the people, according to the practice of some other churches. A different policy from that of Gregory was also pursued by Innocent III. in 1215; for, in the council of Lateran, held in that year, it was ordained, that if persons of different nations, speaking different languages, dwelt in the same city, the bishop of the diocese should provide ministers for them, capable of performing service in their respective tongues.[32]

But "what judgment," inquires a Catholic historian, "shall we form of the *Crusades*, which were more extravagant in their origin, more contagious in their progress, more destructive in their consequences, than all the follies which had hitherto infuriated or depressed the human race; and which, towards the close of this century, took forcible possession of the minds of the Western world."[33] Their object was the recovery of Jerusalem out of the hands of the infidels. "The scheme originated," observes the same intelligent writer, "in the cultivated mind of Gerbert, in the first year of his pontificate; was nourished by Hildebrand; and carried into execution by

(31) Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, II. p. 1575, Rotterdam, 1699. fol.
(32) Basnage, *ut sup.*
(33) Berrington's Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages, B. iv. p. 266.

the activity of Urban II., and the eloquence of Peter the Hermit. The first army marched in 1096, and in 1099 Jerusalem was taken."

The state of letters was necessarily affected by these wars. They occasioned dissipation in the minds of all men, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and a "new temper was generated, by which all sedentary occupations were suspended, and a mark of reproach fixed upon every undertaking, which did not tend to, or was not connected with the peculiar military mania of the times. Schools and convents felt the general contagion; if a few employed the remonstrances of wisdom, they were unheeded or despised. At the call of their prince Duke Robert, the pupils of Bea deserted their masters; and no eloquence gained hearers but that of the hermit, or of popular declaimers on the same subject."—Ignorance and barbarism marked the progress of the *Crusaders*, and literature in every form was the object of indifference or contempt. In the summer of 1203, they appeared before Constantinople; and spent the following winter in the suburb of Galata. The city was taken by storm, and suffered all the horrors of pillage and devastation. "In order to insult the fallen city, the manners, the dress, the customs of the Greeks were exposed to ridicule or scorn in ludicrous exhibitions; and *pens, inkstands, and paper were displayed in the streets, as the ignoble arms or contemptible instruments of a race of students and of scribes.*"[34] What was the fate of some, or many, of the Byzantine Libraries, is not related. "Paper or parchment held out no temptation to avarice; and the pilgrims, feeling no predilection for science, particularly when locked up in an unknown tongue, would not be solicitous to seize or purloin the works of the learned; but we cannot doubt that many perished in the three fires

(34) Berrington, App. I. pp. 601, 602.

which raged in the city; and some writings of antiquity, which are known to have existed in the twelfth century, are now lost."[35]

The effects of these *Holy Wars*, as they were called, became visible in a variety of forms, and the crusades may be regarded as the date when *Chivalry* assumed a systematic appearance; knighthood was invested with extraordinary splendours; and the science of heraldry may be traced to Palestine. New institutions arose to promote chivalry, at the expense of reason and propriety, and the lay-orders were expected to produce prodigies, in uniting with the exercise of war, the practice of religious duties. In every country in Europe, the Christian knight drew his sword during the celebration of mass, and held it out naked, in testimony of his readiness to defend the faith of Christ.[36]

(35) Berrington, App. I. p. 606.
(36) Introd. to the Literary Hist. of the 14th & 15th Centuries, p. 169. Knox's Liberal Education, II. p. 280, Note.

CHAPTER X.

TWELFTH CENTURY.

Waldenses. Gallican Clergy. Singular Customs. Cistercian Monks. Lambert of Liege. Petrus de Patis. Petrus de Riga. Matthœus. Joannes Burgundio. Peter Comestor. Nuns of the Paraclete. Sanson de Nanteuil. Romance. Legenda Aurea. England. English MS. Versions. Adrian IV. Profligacy of Monks and Clergy. Religious Dramas. Biblical MSS. Arabic Scholars. Learned Jews.

THE circumstances under which the TWELFTH CENTURY commenced, were most inauspicious. Chivalrous superstitions, and dissolute manners prevented the extensive circulation of the Sacred Writings, and checked the progress of Scriptural translations. The facts presented to the Biblical scholar are frequently unimportant and uninteresting, except in the instance of the *Waldenses*, who stood forward as the friends of Scriptural investigation and vernacular translations, amid sanguinary persecutions, and unmerited calumnies.

The WALDENSES, called also *Vaudois*, or *Vallenses*, obtained their name from inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, particularly those of Lucerne and Angrogne. Sometimes they were denominated *Leonists*, or *the poor men of Lyons*, from the city of that name; and at other times, the *Sabatati*, or *Insabatati*, from the wooden shoes which they wore, and which, in the French language, are termed *Sabots*. From the occupation followed by great numbers of them, the whole sect, in certain places, was called the *Sect of Weavers*.

They were properly the descendants of the *Cathari*, or

Puritans, who arose in the church some centuries earlier than the time of PETER VALDO, or WALDO, to whom, by a mistake originating in the similarity of names, the rise of this sect has usually been attributed: But, though he was not the founder of the Waldensian churches, he became one of their most considerable friends and benefactors; and, by his writings, his preachings, and his sufferings, defended their cause, and extended their influence. He was an opulent merchant, and citizen of Lyons. About the year 1160, a providential event gave the first occasion to his concern for religion. Being assembled with some of his friends, and after supper conversing and refreshing himself among them, one of the company fell down dead on the ground, to the amazement of all that were present. From that moment, Waldo became a serious inquirer after divine truth, and soon after abandoned his mercantile occupation, distributed his wealth to the poor, and became the teacher of the multitudes who flocked to receive his bounty, or hear his instructions. By the study of the Scriptures, his mind was enlightened, he saw, and strenuously opposed, many of the errors of the church of Rome.[1] With the design, therefore, of more effectually promoting religious knowledge, he made, or procured, a translation of the FOUR GOSPELS, and probably of other parts of the Sacred Writings, into FRENCH. Stephen de Borbone, who died in 1261, says that Waldo, not being sufficiently learned for the work, employed and paid *Stephen de Ansa*, or *Emsa*, an ecclesiastic, and a noted grammarian, with another priest named *Bernard Ydros*, both of Lyons, to execute the translation; in which De Ansa dictated, whilst Ydras wrote; and that they were engaged also in the translation of other religious works. STEPHEN DE ANSA was afterwards beneficed in the cathedral of

(1) Milner's History of the Church of Christ, III. pp. 437—439.
Usserii Hist. Dogmat. pp. 145, 146.
Du Cange, Glossarium, Lat. v. *Sabatati*.
Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. III. pp. 120—127.

Lyons; and, died by a fall from a solarium or chamber which he had erected. Reinerius, however, an opponent of the Waldenses, who lived in 1250, says, that "being somewhat learned, he taught the people the *text* of the New Testament, for which he was reproved by the bishop:" and Matthias Illyricus, one of the Magdeburgh centuriators, or writers of the famous Ecclesiastical History, printed at Basil in the sixteenth century, observes, "He was himself a man of learning, as I understand from old parchments, nor was he obliged to employ others to translate for him; as some enemies of the truth have falsely affirmed.[2]

It is probably impossible to ascertain with correctness, what *portions* of the Sacred Scriptures were at this time translated into French. Thuanus and Massonus say, "He caused the writings of the PROPHETS and APOSTLES to be translated into the popular language, or French." Walter Mapes, who was chaplain to our Henry II. informs us, that during the council of Lateran, held in 1179, the Waldenses presented to Pope Alexander III. "a book containing the text of the PSALMS, with a gloss; and the greater part of the books of BOTH LAWS," i. e. of the Mosaic Law and the Gospel. It was alledged against them as a crime, that they affirmed, "That when a preacher advanced any doctrine which he did not prove from the *Old and New Testament*, such preaching ought to be regarded as false;" and according to Gretser, Reinerius assigns "the translation of the *Old* and *New Testament* into the vulgar tongue," as one cause of the rapid increase of these early reformers.[3] But whether Waldo himself entirely performed the work, or encouraged others to do it, or, what is most probable, executed

(2) Usserii Hist. Dogmat. pp. 146, 147.
Le Long Biblioth. Sacra. I. p. 313, 314. Paris, 1723, fol.
Usser. De Christ. Ecc. success. et statu, cap. viii. p. 217.
(3) Ibid. pp. 220. 234, 235.
Usserii Hist. Dogmat. *ut sup.*

it himself with the assistance of others, it is certain that the Christian world in the West were indebted to him for the *first translation* of a great part, if not of the whole, of the Sacred Volume into *French*.

Beside the *French* translation of the Scriptures, executed more immediately for the disciples of Waldo, who had retired into Dauphiny, there appears to have been a translation into WALDENSIAN, for the use of those who inhabited the vallies of Piedmont. Leger, who was one of their pastors for several years in the seventeenth century, says, that although, prior to his time, they had possessed a translation of the NEW TESTAMENT for several centuries, they had not a translation of the whole of the *Old Testament*, but only of certain parts of it, as GENESIS, the PSALMS, PROVERBS, and JOB.[4] In 1658, a number of MSS. and other pieces, collected by Sir Samuel Morland, during the time that he resided in Geneva, for the purpose of dispensing the bounty of the British nation to the poor persecuted Waldenses, were presented by him to the public library of the University of Cambridge. These papers consist altogether of twenty-one volumes, numbered A, B, C, &c. "In the volume F, are collected, and written on parchment, in that which is called the WALDENSIAN language, of a very ancient, but fair and distinct character, the gospel of Matthew, the first chapter of Luke, the gospel of John, the Acts, I. Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, I. Thessalonians, II. Timothy, Titus, the eleventh chapter of the Hebrews, with I. and II. Peter, the two last imperfect."[5]

Le Long mentions a copy of the New Testament, in the *Waldensian* dialect, written by one of the Waldensian Barbs or pastors, preserved in the library of the city of

(4) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. p. 368. Paris, 1723, fol.

(5) Morland's Hist. of the Churches of Piedmont, p. 98. cited in Anderson's Memorial on behalf of the native Irish, App. p. 79.

Zurich. It is on parchment, in 12mo. and is supposed to have been written after A. D. 1100.[6]

The poverty of the Waldenses, and the great expense of transcription, prevented the copies of the Scriptures being numerous among them; but this deficiency was amply compensated by the diligent perusal of those they possessed, and the extraordinary attention paid to them when publicly read. Reinerius, who was a Roman catholic writer, and an inquisitor, acknowledges that he saw and heard a peasant recite the book of *Job* by heart; and that there were others among them who could perfectly repeat the whole *New Testament*.[7] In a book concerning their Barbs or pastors, we have this account of their vocation: "All who are to be ordained as pastors among us, while they are yet at home, entreat us to receive them into the ministry, and desire that we would pray to God, that they may be rendered capable of so great a charge. They are to learn by heart all the chapters of *St. Matthew* and *St. John*, all the canonical *Epistles*, and a good part of the writings of *Solomon*, *David*, and the *Prophets*. Afterwards, having exhibited proper testimonials of their learning and conversation, they are admitted as pastors by the imposition of hands."[8]

The way in which these excellent men disseminated their sentiments, during the dreadful persecutions which raged against them, will be interestingly explained by the following extracts. The first is from Reinerius, who wrote against the Waldenses, in the thirteenth century. In his book *Contra-Waldenses*, cap. viii. *Quomodo se ingerant familiaritati magnorum*, he says, that it was the practice of some of the Waldensian teachers, the more readily to gain access to persons of rank, to carry with them a small box of trinkets, or articles of

(6) Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, I. p. 369.

(7) Reineri Liber contra Waldenses, cap. iii. vide Biblioth. Vet. Pat. Tom. XIII. p. 299. Colon. Agrip. 1618, fol.

(8) Milner, III, p. 461.

dress; and to introduce themselves by offering their articles to sale: "SIR, will you please to buy any rings or seals, or trinkets? MADAM, will you look at any handkerchiefs, or pieces of needlework for veils? I can afford them cheap." If, after a purchase, the company ask, "Have you any thing more?" the salesman would reply, "O yes, I have commodities far more valuable than these, and I will make you a present of them, if you will protect me from the clergy." Security being promised, on he would go. "The inestimable jewel I spoke of, is the Word of God, by which he communicates his mind to men, and which inflames their hearts with love to him." *In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee named Nazareth:* and so he would proceed to repeat the remaining part of the first chapter of Luke.* Or he would begin with the *thirteenth* of John, and repeat the last discourse of Jesus to his disciples. If the company should seem pleased, he would proceed to repeat the *twenty-third* of Matthew; *The scribes and pharisees sit in Moses' seat—Woe unto you, ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. Woe unto you, ye devour widows' houses.* "And pray," should one of the company say, "against whom are these woes denounced think you?" he would reply, "Against the clergy, and the monks. The doctors of the Roman church are pompous, both in their habits and their manners, they *love the uppermost rooms, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and to be called Rabbi, Rabbi.* For our parts, we desire no such Rabbies. They are incontinent; we live each in chastity with his own wife. They are the rich and avaricious, of whom the Lord says, *Woe unto you ye rich, for ye have received your consolation;* but

* The reader should keep in mind, that at this time the use of the Bible was not allowed to the laity; and that vernacular translations especially were discountenanced, and copies of the Scriptures, which were all MSS, rare and expensive.

we, *having food and raiment, are therewith content.* They are voluptuous, and *devour widows' houses;* we only eat to be refreshed and supported. They fight and encourage wars, and command the poor to be killed and burnt, in defiance of the saying, *he that taketh the sword, shall perish by the sword.* For our parts, they persecute us for righteousness' sake. *They* do nothing but eat the bread of idleness: *we* work with our hands. They monopolize the giving of instruction, and *woe be to them that take away the key of knowledge.* But among us, women teach as well as men, and one disciple, as soon as he is informed himself, teaches another. Among them you can hardly find a doctor, who can repeat three chapters of the New Testament by heart; but of us, there is scarcely a man or woman, who doth not retain the whole. And because we are sincere believers in Christ, and all teach and enforce a holy life and conversation, these scribes and pharisees persecute us to death, as their predecessors did Jesus Christ."[9]

The second extract is from the examination of Peironetta, a widow, before Anthony Fabri, the inquisitor general of Dauphiny, in 1494. To the first interrogatory she answered nothing: to the second, she said and confessed, "That about twenty-five years ago, or thereabouts, there came to the house of Peter Fornerius, her husband, two strangers in grey clothes, who, as it seemed to her, spake Italian, or the dialect of Lombardy, whom her husband received into his house, for the love of God. That whilst they were there, at night after supper, one of them began to read a godly book, which he carried about with him, saying, that therein were contained the GOSPELS, and other precepts of the law;—and that he would explain and preach the same in the presence of all who were present; GOD having sent him to go up and down the world like

(9) Biblioth. Vet. Pat. XIII. p. 307. Colon. Agrip. 1618. Jones' Hist. of the Waldenses, pp. 390, 391. fol.

the Apostles, to reform the Catholic faith, and to preach to the good and simple, showing them how to worship God, and keep his commandments."[10]

The following curious passage from a MS. chronicle of the Abbey of Corvey, supposed to have been written about the beginning of the twelfth century, is singularly descriptive of the character of these reformers, and of the mode of disseminating the knowledge of the Scriptures by the Waldensian laity; and of the extensive spread of their doctrines:

"Religionem nostram, etc."[11] "Laymen from Suabia, Switzerland, and Bavaria, have been wishful to render our religion and the faith of all the Christians of the Latin church contemptible;—men seduced from the ancient race of simple men who inhabit the Alps and their vicinity, and are always attached to what is ancient. Merchants of this description from Switzerland, frequently enter Suabia, Bavaria, and the north of Italy, who *commit the Bible to memory*, and despise the rites of the church, which they hold to be novel. They forbid the worship of images, and condemn the relics of the saints; they live upon herbs, and seldom or never eat flesh. We, therefore, call them Manichees. There are also others who meet them from Hungary, &c."

The general habits of this interesting people are also well described by that great historian Thuanus, or De Thou, an enemy indeed to the Waldenses, though a fair and candid one. He is describing one of the vallies inhabited by them in Dauphiny, which is called the stony valley. "Their clothing," he says, "is of the skins of sheep; they have no linen. They inhabit seven villages; their houses are constructed of flint-stone, with a flat roof, covered with mud, which being spoiled or loosened

(10) Allix's Remarks upon the Ancient Church of Piedmont, pp. 319. 322.
(11) Planta's Hist. of the Helvetic Confederacy, I. B. i, ch. iv, pp. 179, 180. Lond. 1807, 8vo.

by rain, they smooth again with a roller. In these they live with their cattle, separated from them, however, by a fence; they have besides two caves set apart for particular purposes, in one of which they conceal their cattle, in the other themselves, when hunted by their enemies. They live on milk and venison, being by constant practice excellent marksmen. Poor as they are, they are content, and live separate from the rest of mankind, One thing is astonishing, that persons externally so savage and rude, should have so much moral cultivation. They can all read and write. They understand French, so far as is needful for the understanding of the Bible, and the singing of psalms. You can scarce find a boy among them, who cannot give you an intelligible account of the faith which they profess; in this, indeed, they resemble their brethren of the other vallies: they pay tribute with a good conscience, and the obligation of this duty is peculiarly noted in the confession of their faith. If by reason of the civil wars they are prevented from doing this, they carefully set apart the sum, and at the first opportunity pay it to the king's tax-gatherers."

From the account of Thuanus, it appears that WALDO fled into Germany, and at last settled in Bohemia, where he ended his days in the year 1179, or before that time.[12]

The practices of the Gallican clergy of the middle ages, present the most perfect contrast to the plain and modest manners of the Waldenses. On many occasions they assumed the military habit, and even officiated in it, during the solemn services of the church; and at other times exhibited the most disgraceful attachment to the rude sports of the field. A custom, equally indecorous, prevailed in England, from the early part of the reign of Edward I. till the time of Elizabeth. This was a most singular offering of a fat doe in winter, and a buck in summer, made at the high altar of St. Paul's church

(12) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, III. p. 455.

in London, by Sir William de Baude and his family, and then to be distributed among the canons resident, in lieu of twenty-two acres of land in Essex, formerly belonging to the canons of this church. Weever, in his *Funerall Monuments*, has thus described it: "On the feast day of the commemoration of St. Paul, the bucke being brought up to the steps of the high altar in Paul's church at the hour of procession, the deane and chapter being apparelled in coapes and vestments, with garlands of roses on their heads, they sent the body of the bucke to baking, and had the head fixed on a pole, borne before the crosse in their procession, untill they issued out of the west dore; where the keeper that brought it, blowed the death of the bucke, and then the horners that were about the citie, presently answered him in like manner. For the which paines they had, each man, of the deane and chapter, foure-pence in money, and their dinner; and the keeper that brought it, was allowed during his abode there for that service, meate, drinke, and lodging, at the deane and chapter's charges, and five shillings in money, at his going, together with a loafe of bread, having the picture of Saint Paul upon it. There was belonging to the church of St. Paul, for both the daies, two especiall sutes of vestments, the one embroidered with buckes, the other with does, both given by the said *Bauds*."[13]

In this age of persecution and profligacy, the monasteries were the principal asylums of Sacred Literature. The writings of former ages were kept with religious care in several of the monastic libraries; and even where the general interests of science were neglected, the monks continued the employment of transcription: and it deserves to be recorded to the honour of *Manegold*, the 17th abbot of Hirsauge, about A. D. 1157, that, whilst

(13) Weever's Ancient Funerall Monuments, p. 603. Lond. 1631, fol.

he was in an inferior station as conductor of the singers, and keeper of the library, he caused 60 valuable volumes to be written upon parchment, for the use of the fraternity to which he belonged.[14]

The Cistercian monks allotted several hours in the day to manual labour, *copying books*, or sacred studies. Stephen Harding, an Englishman, of an honourable and wealthy family, received his education in the monastery of Sherborn, in Dorsetshire, and there laid a very solid foundation of literature and sincere piety. He travelled into Scotland, and from thence to Paris, and Rome. In 1098, he, with twenty companions, retired to *Citeaux*, a marshy wilderness, five leagues from Dijon, where they founded the Cistercian order. In 1109, he was chosen the third abbot of Citeaux, and, with the assistance of his monks, wrote during the same year a very correct copy of the LATIN BIBLE for the use of the monastery. For this great work, which was equally creditable to his piety and his learning, he collated a number of MSS. and consulted many learned Jews on the Hebrew text of difficult passages, and in particular on the books of *Kings*, in which he found the errors were most numerous. This most valuable MS. copy of the Bible is preserved at Citeaux, in four volumes in folio, written on vellum.[15] He died March 28th, 1134.

Clairvaux was one of the dependencies of Citeaux. It was founded in 1115. Bernard, the son of a military nobleman, was its first abbot. He was born at Fontaines, a castle in Burgundy, and a lordship belonging to his father. From his infancy he was devoted to religion and study, and made a rapid proficiency in the learning of the times. He early formed a resolution to retire from the world, and engaged all his brothers, and several of his friends, in the same monastic views with himself. He

(14) Trithemii Chronicon Hirsaugense, I. p. 437.
(15) Butler's Lives, IV. Ap. 17. p. 167.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. p. 239. Paris, 1723.

became a Cistercian, the strictest of the orders in France, and entered the monastery of Citeaux. In this humble retirement, "I meditated," said he, "on the WORD OF GOD, and the fields and forests taught me its secret meaning: the oaks and the beeches were my masters." He read the Scriptures without a comment, "for their own words," he observes, "explain their meaning best; and in those words may be found the real force of the truths which they convey." After two years, this extraordinary youth was translated, with the jurisdiction of an abbot, to the new establishment at Clairvaux, a barren and neglected spot, the retreat of thieves, and from its state of desolation, called the *Vale of Wormwood.* To encourage learning, Bernard was careful to furnish all the monasteries subject to him, with good libraries; and several beautifully illuminated MSS. written in his time, are still shewn at Clairvaux. In defending what he considered to be the truth, he had to contend with the noted Peter Abelard, whose base seduction and subsequent treatment of Eloisa, have justly branded his name with infamy. By an abuse of the scholastic divinity, and the elation of applause and self-confidence, Abelard was led to adopt sentiments approaching to the Socinianism of more modern times. These opinions were successfully combated by Bernard; and Gaufredus, one of the writers of Bernard's life, thus expresses his gratitude: "Blessed be God, who gave to us a better master, by whom he confuted the ignorance of the former, and quashed his arrogance; by whom Christ exhibited to us three special objects in his sufferings,—an example of virtue, an incentive of love, and a sacrifice of redemption." His works which he has left behind him, are various as they are numerous, and comprised under the principal heads of *Sermons, Epistles,* and *Moral Treatises.* He has acquired the appellation of the *mellifluous* doctor. His writings are pervaded by devotional fervour; and the facility with which, in al-

most every period, he introduces the words of Scripture, is really admirable, and their application is seldom forced or unappropriate. In the beginning of the year 1153, he fell into a decay, which on the 20th of August terminated his life. He was buried at Clairvaux.[16]

LAMBERT of Liege, a canon regular of St. Christopher, who died about the year 1177, is said to have translated the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES into the *Romance*, or *Vulgar French* dialect.[17]

PETRUS, or PIERRE DE PATIS, a Frenchman, who flourished A. D. 1200, was the author of a *French* paraphrastical version of the *Psalms*. The following specimen of it, from a copy in the royal library at Paris, written by a scribe called *Linardin*, is curious, and suggests the idea that the mode of glossing or commenting, in his day, was by appending the gloss or comment to the preceding sentence.

"Beneure est cel home qui ne nala pas en le conseil des felons, et ne se aresta pas en la voie des pecheors, come fist Adam quand il mangea la poume."

"Blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of felons,* nor standeth in the way of sinners, as Adam did when he ate the apple."[18]

PETRUS DE RIGA, canon of Rheims, who flourished under the Emperor Frederick I. was the author of a work entitled AURORA, or the *History of the Bible allegorised*, in Latin verses, some of which are in rhyme. The books of the Sacred Volume which he turned into verse were, GENESIS, EXODUS, LEVITICUS, NUMBERS, DEUTERONOMY,

(16) Butler's Lives, VIII. Aug. 20.
Milner, III. Cent. 12.
Berrington's Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages, pp. 278—284.

(17) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 321, et Index Auctor. Paris, 1723.

* The propriety of using this term in reference to Adam, is evident from its etymology, for, according to Spelman, it is derived from the Teutonic FEE, which signifies *fief*, and LON, which signifies *price* or *value*, so that *Felony* was the act, by which a vassal forfeited his estate to his Lord. *Spelmanni Glossar.*

(18) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. p. 323, Paris, 1723.

JOSHUA, JUDGES, RUTH, KINGS, THE SONG OF SOLOMON, DANIEL, JOB, ESTHER, THE FOUR GOSPELS, AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES; beside the Apocryphal books of TOBIT, JUDITH, and MACCABEES. His version of ESTHER in Hexameter and Pentameter verses, was published at Frankfort, in 1624, by Gasper Barthius; in his *Adversaria.* Lib. 31. cap. 15. in folio. He also wrote *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, and other pieces in Latin poetry.[19] He died A. D. 1209.

About the same time MATTHÆUS, a presbyter of Vendasme, paraphrased the book of TOBIT into Latin Elegiacs, from the Latin Bible of Jerom, under the title of the TOBIAD, sometimes called the THEBAID, first printed among the OCTO MORALES. Warton[20] says he flourished in 1170; but Sixtus Senensis[21] places him in the year 1400.

JOANNES BURGUNDIO was another of the learned men of this period whose Biblical labours entitle him to notice. He was a citizen of Pisa, where he sustained an high judicial office, under the Emperor Frederick 1. surnamed *Barbarossa.* As a scholar, he was eminently skilled in the literature of Greece and Rome; and attended a council at Rome in 1163, carrying with him a translation from the Greek into Latin of the GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN made by himself; he also acknowledged that he had translated the greater part of the book of GENESIS. He died A.D. 1194.[22]

But beside these translations, which seem to have originated in a desire for the dissemination of truth, there were others produced by the chivalrous spirit which had been excited by the crusades. The *Books of* KINGS, the MACCABEES, and other historical books, were translated into the vulgar French, under the title of "Plusieurs Bat-

(19) Sixt. Senensis, Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iv.
Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, II. p. 167, *note.*
Le Long, II. p. 929.
(20) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, II. p. 168.
(21) Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iv. p. 345.
(22) Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, I. p. 309, et Index Auctor.

tailes des Roys d'Israel en contre les Philistiens et Assyriens, &c." and other similar ones. Unfortunately, however, they were deeply tinctured with the deplorable superstition and barbarity of the age; and the translators made no scruple of embellishing their writings by the insertion of legendary tales and fabulous exploits. Some of these interpolated versions were composed in rhyme, to render them popular, and easy to be sung.[23] LEONTIUS, or LEONINE, a French monk of St. Victor, at Marseilles, about the year 1135, wrote a Latin heroic poem in twelve books, containing the *History of the Bible, from the creation of the world, to the story of Ruth.* He was the most popular, and almost only Latin poet of his time in France. *Leonine Verses,* which are probably the Roman hexameters, or pentameters rhymed, but which are sometimes used as a term for Latin rhymes in general, are said to have obtained their name from having been invented, and first used by him; though some contend that Pope Leo II. a great reformer of the chants and hymns of the church, invented this sort of verse, about the year 680.[24]

One of the most celebrated works of this period, was the SCHOLASTICA HISTORIA of PETER COMESTOR, compiled about the year 1175, at Paris. It was a sort of Latin breviary of the historical parts of the Old and New Testament, and Apocrypha, accompanied with elaborate expositions from Josephus, and many Pagan writers; and so popular, as not only to be taught in schools, but even to be publicly read in the churches.

Of this very singular and once popular work, the reader may form some idea, by the following translation, from an early printed copy of the work, in my possession, of the *Prefatory Epistle,* and *Version* or Gloss of Gen. iii. 1—6.

(23) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, II. p. 107.
(24) Ibid. I. Diss. 2.

"PREFATORY EPISTLE."

"To the reverend father and his lord William, by the grace of God, archbishop of Siena, Peter, a servant of Christ, and presbyter of Troyes, prayeth a good life and happy death."

"I have been induced to undertake this work by the earnest entreaties of my brethren, who, being engaged in reading the history of Sacred Scripture in regular order, found it was made diffuse by numerous glosses, and that it needed considerable enlargement and explanation; and therefore urged me to compose a work to which they might have recourse for coming at the truth of the history. In doing this, my intention has been so to direct my pen, as not to leave the writings of the Fathers, although novelty is pleasing and delights the ear. So beginning with the cosmography of Moses, I have continued a small rivulet of history to the ascension of the Saviour, leaving the ocean of my stories to more skilful hands, who may follow the useful and ancient, and invent new ones. Also, from the histories of heathen writers, I have inserted some things which fell in with the order of the times, thus making my work like a stream, which while it fills the creeks that it finds in its course, at the same time continues to flow on. But as rough style needs a polish, I have reserved that business for you, that, if God will, this work may derive splendour from your correction, and perpetuity from your approbation. In all things blessed be God!"

Version or Gloss of Gen. iii. 1. &c.

"The Serpent was more subtle than all terrestrial animals, both naturally and incidentally. Incidentally, because it was full of the devil. For Lucifer, being banished the paradise of spirits, envied man who was in the paradise bodies, of knowing that, if he should make him commit trangression, he also would be banished. But, fearing to be detected by the man, he tried the woman, who was

both less prudent, and more easy to be moved to sin. And this he did by means of the serpent; for then it was erect like man, being afterwards made prostrate by the curse; and it is said the *Phareas* walks erect even to this day. He chose also, says Bede, a certain kind of serpent, having a face resembling a virgin's, because like things delight in their like, and moved its tongue to speak, the serpent at that time knowing nothing of it, in the same way as he speaks by the mouth of fanatics and those who are possessed without their knowledge. And he said, 'Why hath God commanded you not to eat of every tree of paradise, to eat of the trees, but not of every tree?' He put this question that from the reply to it, he might find occasion to say what he had come for: and so it happened. For, when the woman, as if in doubt, made answer: 'Lest peradventure we die;' because a person in doubt is easily moved any way, he, without taking any notice of the command, says, 'You will certainly not die; nay, but because he is unwilling that you should resemble him in knowledge, and knows that when you shall have eaten of this tree, you will be as gods, knowing good and evil, he hath, as it were through envy, forbidden you.' And the woman being lifted up and wishful to become like God, consented."[25]

GUIARS DES MOULINS, a canon of Aire, translated it into *French*, in 1291; and about the year 1271, it was translated into *German* rhymes. Vossius says that the original was abridged by Gualter Hunte, an English Carmelite friar, about the year 1460. There are numerous and very sumptuous manuscripts of this work in the British Museum. One of them, with exquisite paintings, was ordered to be written by Edward IV. at Bruges, A. D.

(25) Comestoris Scholastica Historia, *Proleg. Epist.* et Gen. cap. xxi. Basil, 1486, fol.

For the translation I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Jonathan Crowther, junr. Master of the Classical Academy, Frodsham, Cheshire.

1470. Another was written in 1382. R. Simon says, that the *French* version of the Scriptures, ascribed to Guiars des Moulins, is no other than the translation of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, though it appears without the glosses, or interpolations. In proof of this fact, he quotes the following passages from the preface of a MS. copy in the Royal Library at Paris: "Because the devil every day molests, disturbs, and pollutes the heart of men, by idleness, and a thousand snares, which he lays to entrap our hearts; never ceasing his endeavours to entice us to sin, that he may thereby draw us into hell with him, it is the business of our clergy, and priests of holy church, after their orisons, to employ themselves in doing some good work. And because the devil has many times drawn me into sin by idleness, that he may no more find me unemployed in good works, I that am priest and canon of St. Peter's of Aire, in the bishopric of Therovenne, by name Guiars des Moulins, called, first of all to the praise of God, the Virgin Mary, and all the saints; and next, to the profit of all those whom this book shall reach; wherein, (at the request of a special friend, who much desired the profit of my soul,) I have translated the historical books of the Bible. I desire all that shall read these translations, if they find any fault therein, to take for excuse what I here protest, viz. That I have not taken away, nor added any thing besides the pure verity as I have found it in the Latin Bible, and the scholastical histories; and those that will search may see, that I have followed the pure verity in these translations, word for word, as I found it in the Latin. I began these translations in the year of grace 1291, and finished them in the year 1294, in the month of February." After the preface Des Moulins places a catalogue of the books of the Bible, professing to follow the order of the *Historia Scholastica*, by Peter Comestor, whom he calls *Master in History*. As the Old Testament was not entire in Co-

mestor's epitome, so he had only a *Harmony*, or Agreement of the Gospels, which Des Moulins translated, commencing with the words *Chi commenchent les Evangilles en le maniere que li maistres en traite en Hystoires:* 'Here begin the Gospels after the manner adopted by masters in history." The *Acts of the Apostles* are placed next after this Harmony; and *St. Paul's Epistles* supply the third place; the other Epistles follow, *Jude* being placed the last.[26] The *Historia Scholastica* was first printed at Augsburg, in 1473, fol. by Gunth. Zainer. The *French* translation was first published without date or place, in two tomes, with old wood-cuts, about A.D. 1487.

The glosses and legendary tales rendered Comestor's work so pleasing to the major part of the readers, that Father Simon says, "the study of the Holy Scriptures was neglected, because the *Scholastical History* was preferred to versions of the Bible;" and even so late as the sixteenth century, it continued to be prejudicial in its influence, for in 1545, a *French* version of the whole Bible was printed, which the same writer assures us was only a revision of Des Moulins' translation of the *Historia Scholastica.*[27]

PETER, surnamed COMESTOR, or the *Devourer*, from the avidity with which he read or *devoured* the Scriptures, was a Frenchman, born at Troyes. He became a priest in his native city, from whence he removed to Paris, where his extraordinary talents and learning were so fully appreciated, that he was elected Chancellor of the university. Wearied with the anxieties of his official situation, he at length withdrew from public life, to spend his days in retirement as a canon regular of St. Victor, in the suburbs of Paris. He died in 1198. The following curious epitaph was made on him:

(26) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, II. pp. 107, 108.
Simon's Critical Hist. of the Versions of N. Test. pt. ii. ch. xxviii.
(27) Simon, Hist. Crit. du. V. T. liv. iii. cap. xi. et Hist. des Vers. pt. ii. cap. xxviii.

'*Petrus eram*, quem *petra* tegit dictusque *Comestor*
'Nunc *Comedor*. Vivus docui, nec cesso docere
'Mortuus; ut dicat, qui me videt incineratum:
'Quod sumus iste fuit, erimus quandoque quod hic est.[28]

'I who was once called *Peter*, (i. e. a Stone,) am now 'covered by a *Stone*, (Petra): and I who was once sur-'named *Comestor*, (i. e. Devourer,) am now *devoured*. 'I taught when alive, nor do I cease to teach though 'dead. For he who beholds me reduced to ashes, may 'say: This man was once what we are now, and what 'he is now, we soon shall be.'

Among the Biblical students of this age, it is a curious fact, that the *Nuns of the Paraclete* appear pre-eminent. This convent was erected in the forest of Nogent, by *Abelard*, and placed under the care of the unfortunate and deserted *Eloisa*, whose history demonstrably proves, that the villain who can basely betray the confidence of unsuspicious innocence, will not be reluctant to desert and treat with unfeeling indifference, the wretched victim of his brutal passions; and that the unfortunate female who deviates from the path of virtue, exposes herself to the pang of keen remorse, and the cold neglect of him whose faithless vows induced the irretrievable violation of her honour, and plunged her into crime and disgrace. The nuns of the Paraclete, with Eloisa at their head, studied the *Latin*, and *Greek*, and *Hebrew* tongues, applied them to the acquirement of a more accurate knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and endeavoured, by a sedulous examination of the original texts, to derive sacred wisdom from its purest source. Eloisa died in 1163, when she had entered her 63rd year; and for many years after her death, the nuns of the Paraclete commemorated her learning and abilities, at the feast of Whitsuntide, by performing the service of the day in Greek: a practice which only

(28) Cavei Hist. Litteraria, Sæc. 12. p. 682. Bibliog. Dict. III.

ceased, when the knowledge of the language was lost among them.[29]

I know not whether it be worth observing, that about this time, a practice prevailed of forming and reducing into parchment-rolls, *Historical Trees* of the Old Testament. The invention of them has been attributed to *Peter of Poictou*, a disciple of Lombard, about the year 1170, who was desirous of aiding the poorer clergy by this employment. The rage of genealogising lasted for ages, and extended to profane as well as sacred history. Roger Alban, a Carmelite friar of London, formed the descent of Jesus Christ from Adam, through the Levitical and regal tribes, the Jewish patriarchs, judges, kings, prophets, and priests. A vellum roll, supposed to be the original one, beautifully illuminated, is amongst the *MSS. More*, in the Public Library at Cambridge. *A Pedigree of the British kings from Adam to Henry the sixth*, written by the same compiler, and presented by him to the king about the year 1450, is now in Queen's College Library, at Oxford. Juliana Barnes, a native of Roding, in Essex, prioress of Sopewell nunnery, was eminent for learning and personal accomplishments, but employed her talents in writing treatises on hunting, hawking, heraldry, &c. One of her tracts on *Armory*, or *Heraldry*, written about the year 1441, begins in the following curious manner: "Of the offspring of the *Gentilman* Jafeth, come Habraham, Moyses, Aron, and the profettys, and also the kyng of the right lyne of Mary, of whom that *Gentilman* Jhesus was born, very god and man: after his manhode kynge of the land of Jude and of Jues, *gentilman* by his moder Mary, *prince of cote armure*."[30] This, however, was the less remarkable in an age when

(29) Berrington's Lives of Abelard and Heloisa, B. v. p. 258. and B. vii. pp. 395, 396.

(30) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, II. pp. 172. 177. Lempriere's Universal Biography.

the rank and titles of secular nobility were sometimes conferred even on the saints. St. James was actually created a BARON at Paris. Thus Froissart, tom. III. cap. xxx. "Or eurent ils affection et devotion d'aller en pelerinage au *Baron* Saint Jaques." And in Fabl. tom. II. p. 182, cited by Carpentier, sup. Lat. gloss, p. 469.

Dame, dist il, et je me veu,
Adieu, et au Baron Saint Leu,
Et s'irai au Baron Saint Jaques.[31]

Even the popular translations of the Scriptures were influenced by the spirit of the times. SANSON DE NANTEUL, a clerical rhymer, who lived in the reign of our Stephen, and to whom the versification of our ancient poetry is said to have been much indebted, was the author of a translation of the PROVERBS OF SOLOMON into the eight-syllable verse of NORMAN-FRENCH, with a copious "Glosse." His plan is, to give the Latin Vulgate of a verse or more, then his versified translation, and afterwards his Gloss, which is sometimes moral, and sometimes allegorical; in this way he has rhymed above 12000 lines into couplets. A copy of it, forming a beautiful specimen of the ancient calligraphy, is amongst the Harleian MSS. No. 4388, in the British Museum. "To us," says a competent judge, "the rhyme is the only mark of poetry in its composition; but as a collection of didactic aphorisms in familiar verse, it must have been an important present to the awakening thought of the unlearned population." It was written at the request of an Anglo-Norman lady; and notwithstanding the author classes the hearing of songs and tales among the acts of criminal voluptuousness, he styles his work a "ROMANZ."

Ki ben volt estre engranz
Entendet dunc a cest *romanz*
Qi al loenge damne de
Et a senor al translate.[32]

This appellation, and that of the modern term *Romance*,

(31) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, II. p. 345, *note*.
(32) Turner's Hist. of England, I. pp. 444, 445.

are derived from the name given to the corrupted Latin spoken, chiefly, by the Franks, after their settlement in Gaul or France. This new language varied in different provinces, for want of a regular standard of pronunciation and grammar. Among its dialects in Burgundy, it was intermixed with a great alloy of the old Burgundian language; in the southern provinces of France, the Provençal, Languedocian and Gascon dialects with that of the Visigoths; and afterwards that in Neustria with the Norman; so that these dialects are at this day often not intelligible to those who speak pure French. The *Romance*, or *Romanciere* language, began to be formed in the eighth century; but, except in some few unimportant instances, was not made use of in writing before the eleventh age: but all who preached or read any thing before an audience, in which there were many who did not understand Latin, used afterwards to add in the Romance tongue, some explication of what had been said or read in Latin. In the eleventh century, some began to commit considerable translations to writing, and in the succeeding century some wrote books in the Romance language. The works thus written in the vulgar tongue were denominated *Romanzes* or Romances; and as fictitious narratives of imaginary adventures were the first compositions committed to writing in the vernacular dialects of France, whilst other writings continued still to be published in Latin, this species of historic fiction became distinguished by the term *Romance*.[33] The general subject of many of the early Romances were the triumphs of Christianity over Paganism. Many of them were written by monks or clergymen; thus the *Chronicle* attributed to Turpin, or Tilpin, archbishop of Rheims, the contemporary of Charlemagne, and which professes to give the history of that monarch's expedition to the Peninsula,

(33) Du Cange, Glossarium, Lat. Præfat. p. vii.
Butler's Lives, VIII. pp. 246, 247, *note*; and X. p. 326, *note*.

and his destruction of idolatry, is supposed to have been written by a canon of Barcelona, about the end of the eleventh or the commencement of the twelfth century. Another work, similar to the Chronicle, and called *Philumena*, was written by a monk of the abbey de Grasse. These works of fiction were diligently sought after by the inmates of the monasteries, were eagerly read by them, and were placed in their libraries amongst their most valuable treatises. In that of Croyland abbey we find Turpin's *Chronicle* placed on the same shelf with Robert Tumbelay on the *Canticles*, and Thomas Waleys on the *Psalter*.[34]

One of the earliest of these religious fictions, was the story of *Barlaam* and *Josaphat*, by Johannes Damascenus, or St. John of Damascus, a monk of Syria, who lived in the eighth century, during the reign of Leo Isauricus. This work seems to have been written with a view of promoting a taste for monastic seclusion. It details the successful endeavours of the hermit Barlaam, to convert to the Christian faith, the Indian prince Josaphat, who had from his infancy been placed in a state of seclusion from the world, by his idolatrous father Abenner, in order to avert the completion of a prophecy, which foretold his desertion of idolatry, and zealous adoption of Christianity. The style is formed on the Sacred Writings; and the artifice by which Barlaam is represented as gaining admittance to the prince, will remind the reader of the modes of disseminating their principles, practised by the Paulicians and Waldenses. The hermit who had insinuated himself into the acquaintance of an attendant, informed him, that he wished to present to the prince a gem, which was of great price, and was endowed with many virtues. Under this similitude of a worldly jewel,

(34) Dunlop's Hist. of Fiction, I. ch. iv. pp. 312, 313. 333.
Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, III. Diss. on the Gesta Romanorum, p. lxv.

he typified the beauties of the Gospel; and the prince having heard the story of the merchant, ordered him to be instantly introduced. Barlaam having obtained admittance, premised his instructions with a summary of Sacred History, from the fall of Adam to the resurrection of our Saviour; and having in this way excited the attention and curiosity of Josaphat, who conjectures that this is the jewel of the merchant, he gradually proceeds to unfold all the mysteries, and inculcates all the doctrines of Christianity. This Greek romance was a great favourite during the middle ages, "and, as Prince Josaphat is represented in it, as gradually acquiring, by unaided meditation, moral notions and ideas of disease and death, it has been considered as the origin of a fictitious work of Avicenna, in the beginning of the eleventh century, as well as of the celebrated Arabian story of *Hai Ebn Yokdhan*, written by Ebn Tophail, a Mahometan philosopher who lived, towards the close of the twelfth century, in some part of the Saracenic dominions in Spain. In a more recent period it gave rise to more than one of the tales of Boccaccio; and became the model of that species of spiritual fiction, which was so prevalent in France during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[35]

A work of still greater celebrity was the LEGENDA AUREA of *Jacobus de Voragine*, a dominican friar, and archbishop of Genoa, in 1292. It consists of the biography of Saints, "interspersed" it is said in the Colophon of the book, "with many other beautiful and strange relations." The *Lives of the Saints*, were denominated *Legends*, from being statedly *read* in the churches; and this compilation received the epithet of GOLDEN, from its extraordinary popularity; or the supposed value of its contents. It was the delight of our ancestors, during the ages which preceded the revival of letters. The library of no monastery was

(35) Dunlop's Hist. of Fiction, I. pp, 70—83; and III. pp. 328, 329.

without it. Every private person who was able, purchased it; and for a long time after the invention of printing no work more frequently issued from the press.[36] In the year 1555, the learned *Claude D' Espence* was obliged to make a public recantation, for calling it *Legenda Ferrea*, or the Iron Legend. A *French* translation of it was made in the fourteenth century, by Jean de Vignay, a monk hospitaler, the French translator of Vincent de Beauvais's famous *Speculum Historiale*. From De Vignay's version, the Legenda Aurea was converted into our language by the indefatigable Caxton, who printed an edition of his translation, which he completed in 1483, and dedicated to William, Earl of Arundel, who, while it was printing, gave him annually a buck in summer, and a doe in winter. A magnificent, and perhaps the original French manuscript of this work was sold among the duplicates of Mr. R. Heathcote's books in 1803; said to be "near 500 years old," and executed for the Queen of Philip de Valois. It is described as being "an immense folio volume, perhaps the most curious work of the kind in the world; every leaf of the finest vellum; all the capital letters illuminated with gold, and rich colours; with upwards of 200 miniatures of the different Saints &c." It was purchased by the Duke of Norfolk for £64. A copy of the English version of the same work, printed by Caxton in 1483, in folio, was, December 24th, 1814, sold by auction at the late residence of Mr. Brassey deceased, for 93 guineas.[37]

This excessive attachment to *Romantic*, or *Legendary* fiction, proved injurious to Biblical knowledge: it increased the number of Apocryphal writings, and prevented the multiplication of copies of the Holy Scriptures. So rare and expensive were transcripts of the Sacred

(36) Dunlop's Hist. of Fiction, III. p. 7.
C. Butler's Life of Alban Butler, prefixed to Lives of the Saints, p. 21.
(37) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, I. p. 190.
Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, II. p. 111.
Gent. Mag. April, 1815. p. 349.

Writings, that when any person made a present of a copy to a church or monastery, it was deemed a donative of such value, that he offered it on the altar *pro remedio animæ suæ*, in order to obtain the forgiveness of his sins. In the collegiate church of Dreux, in France, a *Latin Bible* fairly written in two volumes large folio is preserved, at the close of which is a Latin deed of gift. The following is a translation of it:

"LET all the sons of the church, whether present or future, know that Thomas, Seneschall of St. Gervase hath, of his own free will, given this LIBRARY* to God and the holy protomartyr Stephen, for the remission of his own sins, and those of his wife Ermelina, of his son Herbert, and of his daughters Margaret and Fredeburga; the canons of the aforesaid church of the protomartyr, have, therefore, conceded to them the benefits and prayers of the said church, and after their removal from this world, the regular celebration of their anniversaries in the church, for ever. Offered by the hand of Thomas himself, and by the hand of his wife, on the altar of the protomartyr Stephen, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, in the year of the Incarnation, one thousand one hundred and sixteen, in the reign of the most pious and sincere worshipper of God, King Louis the sixth, son of King Philip the first."[38]

If we turn our attention to ENGLAND, we find that the ravages of the Danes, and the conquest of the Normans, had repressed the ardour of Biblical pursuits, and rendered copies of the Sacred Scriptures, even in Latin, exceedingly scarce and difficult to be obtained. The Anglo-Saxon versions were become nearly obsolete; and the attempt of the conqueror to introduce the French, had so altered the language of the nation, that the inhabitants of our island could understand but little of what

* The term *Bibliotheca*, or Library, was frequently applied to the Bible.

(38) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. p. 238. Paris, 1723, fol.
Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. I. Proofs &c. note X.

had been the vernacular tongue of their ancestors. The Bible was consequently out of the reach of the illiterate and the poor; and the baneful opinion began to prevail, that the knowledge of the Scriptures was *unnecessary*, and that it was *unlawful* for private Christians to read them in their mother-tongue. William Butler, a Franciscan friar, went so far as to maintain, that "the prelates ought not to admit of this, that every one should at his pleasure read the Scriptures translated into *Latin*"——"A paradox," says Lewis, in his *History of English Translations of the Bible*, "which served indeed to justify or excuse many even of the priests of those times, who, as they knew nothing of the Scriptures but what they found of them in their *Portuises* and *Missals*, so they were not able to read those portions of them there with understanding; so utterly ignorant were they even of *Latin*."[39]

If any portion of the Bible was attempted to be transferred into the English language, at this period, it appeared in a prolix paraphrase, shackled with metre, and with frequent violations of Scripture-facts. The earliest production of this kind is a paraphrase of the GOSPELS, and the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, preserved in the Bodleian Library. It is entitled *Ormulum*, from being written by one Orme, or Ormin. The style is that of Saxon poetry, without rhyme, in imitation of the most common species of the Latin tetrameter iambic. It is in the Saxon character, but in the English language, properly so called, in its dawn and infancy.[40]

There is also in the Bodleian Library, a prodigious folio volume, beautifully written on vellum, and elegantly illuminated, with this title, "Here begynnen the tytles of the book that is cald in Latyn tonge SALUS ANIME, and in Englysh tonge SOWLE-HELE." It was given to the Library by Edward Vernon, Esq. soon after the civil war.

(39) Lewis, *ut sup.* p. 11.

(40) Baber's Wiclif's New Testament, *Saxon and Eng. Versions*, p. lxiv.

Although pieces not absolutely religious, are sometimes introduced, the scheme of the compiler or transcriber seems to have been, to form a complete body of legendary and Scriptural history in verse, or rather to collect into one view all the religious poetry he could find. In this ponderous volume, is a metrical paraphrastic translation of the OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT, supposed to have been executed before the thirteenth century. The following paraphrase of John xix. 25, 26, 27, will exhibit the nature of this curious work:

Oure ladi and hire suster stoden under the roode,
And seint John and Marie Magdaleyn with wel sori moode:
Vr ladi bi heold hire swete son i brouht in gret pyne,
Ffor monnes gultes nouthen her and nothing for myne.
Marie weop wel sore and bitter teres leet,
The teres fullen uppon the ston doun at hire feet.
Alas, my son, for serwe wel off seide heo
Nabbe iche bote the one that hongust on the treo;
So ful icham of serwe, as any wommon may beo,
That ischal my deore child in all this pyne iseo:
How schal I sone deore, how hast i yougt liven withouten the,
Nusti nevere of serwe nought sone, what seyst you me?
Then spake Jhesus wordus gode to his modur dere;
Ther he heng uppon the roode here I the take a fere,
That trewliche schal serve ye thiu own cosin Jon,
The while that you alyve beo among all thi fon:
Ich the hote Jon, he seide, you wite hire both day and niht
That the Gywes hire fon ne don hire non un riht.
Seint John in the stude vr ladi in to the temple nom
God to serven he hire dude sone so he thider come,
Hole and seeke heo duden good that hes founden thore
Heo hire serveden to hond and foot, the lass and eke the more.
The pore folke feire heo fedde there, heo sege that hit was neode
And the seke heo brougte to bedde and met and drinkegon heom beode
Wy at heore mihte yong and olde hire loveden bothe syke and fer
As hit was riht for alle and summe to hire servise hedden mester.
Jon hire was a trew feer, nolde nought from hire go,
He lokid hire as his ladi deore and what heo wolde hit was i do.

This sumptuous volume of religious poems was probably chained in the cloister, or in the church, of some capital monastery, where the novices were exercised in reciting portions from these pieces, many of them being metrical legends or lives of saints. *Legendary* poetry was sometimes sung to the harp, by the minstrels, on Sundays,

instead of the *romantic* subjects usual at public entertainments. In the British Museum there is a set of legendary tales in rhyme, which appear to have been solemnly pronounced by the priest to the people on Sundays and holidays.[41]

In the valuable library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is a poetical Biblical History, embracing the principal facts recorded in the books of GENESIS and EXODUS, apparently with the one before-mentioned, but written in a different, the *northern*, dialect. There is also in the same library, a version of the PSALMS in English metre, and in the northern dialect, which must be referred to about the same period. It is a translation, as close as verse will allow, of that edition of Jerom's Latin version, which has been denominated the French, or Gallican. In the Bodleian library, and in the Cotton MSS. at the British Museum, are copies of this translation revised and improved, if not by the hand of the first translator, yet by some person who lived in or near his time.[42]

CLEMENT, canon of the order of St. Augustin, and prior of the monastery of Lanthony or Llandennen, in Wales, who flourished about the year 1154, compiled, in Latin, a HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. He likewise wrote a *Commentary on the Four Gospels,* in Latin. His Harmony was so esteemed by Wiclif, that he translated it into English. A very beautiful MS. of this version is in the British Museum, Harl. MSS. 1862. The Rev H. H. Baber, assistant librarian, possesses another MS. copy of the fourteenth century, in 12mo.[43]

About the year 1155, NICHOLAS BREAKSPEAR, an Englishman, who, by a train of singular adventures, had risen from the lowest condition to the papal dignity, under the

(41) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, I. pp. 14. 19, 20.
(42) Warton, I. p. 23. Baber's Wiclif's New Testament, *ubi sup.*
(43) Lewis's Life of Wicliffe, p. 149. Lond. 1720, 8vo.
Baber's Life of Dr. Wiclif, p. xlix. prefixed to New Testament.

name of Adrian IV. sent over for the use of the English people, who were directed to commit them to memory, metrical versions of the *Creed* and *Lord's Prayer*. These curious proofs of the high regard of the Roman pontiff for his countrymen, are here copied from Stow's Chronicle:

THE CREED.

I beleue in God Fadir almichty shipper of heuen and earth,
And in Jhesus Crist his onlethi son vre Louerd,
That is iuange thurch the holy ghost: bore of Mary maiden,
Tholede pine vnder Pounce Pilat, picht on rode tree, dead and yburiid,
Licht into helle, the thridde day from death arose,
Steich into heauen, sit on his fadir richt honde God almichty,
Then is cominde to deme the quikke and the dede,
I belepe in the holy ghost,
All holy chirche.
Mone of alle hallwen: forgiuenis of sine,
Fleiss vprising,
Lif withuten end, Amen.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Vre fadir in heuene riche.
Thi name be haliid eueriliche.
Thou bring vs to thi michil blisce,
Thi will to wirche thu vs wisse,
Als hit is in heuene ido,
Euer in earth ben hit also,
That holi bred that lasteth ay,
Thou sendhit ous this ilke day,
Forgiue ous all that we hauith don,
Als we forgiuet vch other mon,
He let us falle in no founding,
Ak scilde us fro the foule thing, Amen.[44]

This singular instance of a Pope of Rome deeming it necessary to transmit to England, a vernacular version of the *Creed* and *Pater Noster*, sufficiently indicates the low state of religious information among the inferior classes of the people, and certainly is not very creditable to the literary abilities of the catholic clergy of that period.

The historian of Craven has noticed a dispute which occurred during this century, between Ralph Hageth, abbot of Kirkstall, and his monks, that will serve still further to elucidate the state of Biblical literature. In the time of his abbacy, "a great calamity befel the

(44) Stow's Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England, pp. 150, 151. Lond. 1615, fol.

brethren from without; for Henry II. by the evil council of Roger de Mowbray, deseised them of their best estate, the Grange of Micklethwaite. This occasioned great murmurs; and the monks imputed to their abbot, not only the loss of the estate, but of some sacred utensils and ornaments, which he had disposed of; for in order to conciliate the king's favour, he had presented him with a *gold chalice*, and a MS. OF THE GOSPELS." "This," subjoins the indefatigable antiquarian, "may be added to the instances adduced, of the extreme scarcity of MSS. in the middle ages. A *copy of the Gospels* here accompanied a *gold chalice*, as a propitiatory offering to a king. I am pleased with the dissatisfaction of the monks on this account, and willing to hope they really prized the Gospels as gold. If it was their *only* copy, which is far from being improbable, their loss was indeed to be deplored."—Compare this with the following account of a contempory fact: "HUGO Decanus Ebor. cum omnibus fortunis suis Fontes se contulet. Dives erat in libris scripturarum sanctarum, quos multis sibi sumptibus comparaverat. Hic primus armariolum de Fontibus suscitavit." A library in the *twelfth* century, collected at a great expense, sufficed only to furnish a little closet, or perhaps even a small chest. It is to be supposed that as books multiplied, and wealth increased, the library at Fountains," of which these Holy Writings thus purchased and deposited there by Hugo, were the commencement, "expanded in proportion."[45] It may also be deemed worthy of notice, as illustrating the practice of the age, that in the records of the Exchequer we find an entry, purporting that in the seventeenth year of the reign of Henry II. the Sheriffs of London paid, by the king's order, "xxijs. *for gold to gild the Gospel* used in the king's chapel."[46]

(45) Whitaker's Hist. of Craven, p. 63. Lond. 1812, 4to.

(46) Madox's Hist. and Antiq. of the Exchequer, ch. ix. p. 190. Lond. 1711, fol.

The general manners of the age, and the too frequently depraved habits of the monks and priests, proved greatly injurious to the cause of religion, and sacred learning. The crusades were every where preached; pilgrimages were undertaken; ceremonies were multiplied; and appeals were made to the traditions of the Fathers, the opinions of doctors, and the decisions of councils, in preference to the Scriptures. The canons of synods and provincials exhibit the lamentable state of monkish and clerical morality. Of these canons, some of which refer to crimes, "obstinately and profligately" practised, of a nature unfit to meet the public eye, and with which we cannot consent to pollute our pages, the following, selected from the acts of different *English* synods, may suffice.

From Anselm's canons passed at Westminster, A. D. 1102.

Can. 9. "That priests go not to drinking bouts, nor drink to pegs."*

* "Such great drinkers were the Danes, who were in England in the time of *Edgar*, and so much did their bad examples prevail with the English, that he, by the advice of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, put down many ale-houses, suffering only one to be in a village, or small town: and he also further ordained, that *pins* or *nails* should be fastened into the drinking-cups, or horns, at *stated distances*, and whosoever should drink beyond those marks at one draught, should be obnoxious to a severe punishment." Strutt, in Brand's *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, App. p. 377.

"Our ancestors were formerly famous for compotation; their liquor was ale, and one method of amusing themselves in this way was with the *peg-tankard*. I had lately one of them in my hand. It had on the inside a row of eight pins, one above another, from top to bottom. It held two quarts, and was a noble piece of plate, so that there was a gill of ale, half a pint Winchester measure, between each peg. The law was, that every person that drank was to empty the space between pin and pin, so that the pins were so many measures to make the company all drink alike, and to swallow the same quantity of liquor. This was a pretty sure method of making all the company drunk, especially if it be considered that the rule was, that whoever drank short of his pin, or beyond it, was obliged to drink again, and even as deep as to the next pin. And it was for this reason, that in Archbishop Anselm's canons, made in the council of London, A. D. 1102, priests are enjoined not to go to drinking bouts, nor drink to pegs. The words are, "Ut Presbyteri

Can. 27th. "That none exercise that wicked trade, which has hitherto been practised in *England*, of selling men like beasts."

From Archbishop Richard's canons, made at London, A. D. 1175.

Can. 5. "Because clerks for their ignorance, incontinence, defect of birth, title or age, despairing of [higher] orders from their own bishops, procure, or pretend themselves to be ordained by foreign bishops, and so bring seals unknown to their own diocesans; we therefore annul their orders, forbidding with the terror of *Anathema*, any to admit them to the exercise of their function."

Can. 11. "Let none that would appear to be clerks, wear or bear arms, but make their manners and clothes suitable to their profession; or else be degraded as despisers of the canons, and of ecclesiastical authority."

From Herbert Walter's canons, made at Westminster, A. D. 1200.

Can. 5. "We, following the decrees of the *Lateran* councils, which are the most famous of any that have been ordained by the modern fathers, do forbid archbishops to exceed the number of forty or fifty men, and horses;

non eant ad potationes, *nec ad pinnas bibant.*" Wilkin's Concil. I. p. 382." Mons. Du Fresne, in his Gloss. v. *Pinna*, cites Archbishop Anselm's canons of A. D. 1102, *Nec ad pinnas bibant*, and conjectures, 'forte legendum *pilas*,' because *pila* he finds signifies sometimes *taberna*, a tavern, or drinking house. But this is a most unhappy conjecture, as the sense is so plain and intelligible without it; and all the MSS. agree in writing *Pinnas;* and so Mr. Johnson, in his Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws, &c. translates the canon without scruple, "*nor drink to pegs.*" (Dr. Pegge, under the signature of *T. Row*, in *Selection of Curious Articles from Gent. Mag.* vol I. pp. 262, 263.)

William of Malmesbury, speaking of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, says, "So extremely anxious was he to preserve peace even in trivial matters, that, as his countrymen used to assemble in taverns, and when a little elevated, quarrel as to the proportions of their liquor, he ordered gold or silver pegs to be fastened in the pots, that whilst every man knew his just measure, shame would compel each, neither to take more himself, nor oblige others to drink beyond their proportional share." (Hist. of Kings of England, translated by Rev. John Sharpe, M. A. B. i. ch. viii. p. 171. Lond. 1815, 4to.)

bishops the number of twenty or thirty, in visiting parishes: let the archdeacon be content with five or seven; the deans under the bishops with two. And let them not make their progress with hunting dogs, or hawks; but like such as seek not their own, but the things of *Christ*."

The two following canons, both made under Archbishop Walter Herbert, the former at York, in 1192, the latter as above, in 1200, are highly creditable to that prelate.

Can. 3. "Because the [canon or] secret part of the mass is frequently corrupted through the mistake of the writers, or the oldness of the books, so that it cannot distinctly be read, let the archdeacons take greater care that the canon of the mass be corrected according to some true and approved copy."

Can. 1. "Whereas an error in divine offices endangers both the souls and bodies of men, it is wholesomely provided by this council, that the words of the *canon** be roundly and distinctly pronounced by every priest, in celebrating [mass;] and not curtailed by an hasty, or drawn out into an immoderate length, by an affectedly slow pronunciation. In like manner that the *hours**, and all the offices, be rehearsed plainly and distinctly, without clipping or mangling the words: the offenders, after these admonitions, are to be suspended, till they make just satisfaction. Saving in all things the honour and privilege of the holy church of Rome."[46]

One of the popular employments and entertainments of the ecclesiastics in the middle ages, and one of the modes adopted by them for the instruction of the people, in the place of the Bible, was writing and *exhibiting* RELIGIOUS DRAMAS: these being founded on Scripture narratives, or designed as emblematical representations of mo-

* The *Canon*, or Secret Part of the Mass, is from the end of the *Trisagium*, to the end of the Consecration: the *Hours*, are certain prayers performed at stated hours of the day.

(47) Johnson's Eccles. Laws, II. *sub ann.*

ral qualities, were variously designated as SCRIPTURE PLAYS, MIRACLES, and MORALITIES; and, from the festivals on which they were very generally performed, CORPUS CHRISTI, and WHITSUN PLAYS. As the history of these religious and emblematical dramas is connected with Biblical literature, and is but little known, the reader will excuse the digression of an attempt to present him with an outline of their rise, and progress, and influence; for which I am considerably indebted to Warton's *History of English Poetry*, a work of astonishing research and information; to Ricoboni's curious *Historical and Critical Account of the Theatres in Europe;* and to Du Tilliot's *Memoires pour servir a l' histoire de la Fete des Foux.*

The theories which have been advanced to elucidate the *Origin* of these theatrical exhibitions of Scripture histories, are various; one supposes them to have been first exhibited at the public marts or fairs, held at certain periods, in different parts of Europe; another conjectures that they had their rise at Constantinople; and a third believes them to have been introduced into the west by the Pilgrims of the Middle Ages.

In support of the first of these theories it is remarked, that about the eighth century, trade was principally carried on by means of *Fairs*, which lasted several days. Charlemagne established many great marts of this sort in France; as did William the Conqueror, and his Norman successors, in England. The merchants who frequented these fairs in numerous caravans or companies, employed every art to draw the people together. They were therefore accompanied by jugglers, minstrels, and buffoons; who were no less interested in giving their attendance, and exerting all their skill, on these occasions. In proportion as these popular amusements were attended and encouraged, they were rendered more seductive by numerous decorations and improvements; and the arts of buffoonery acquired additional importance in the eyes of the multitude. By

degrees the clergy, observing that the entertainments of dancing, music, and mimicry, exhibited at these protracted annual celebrities, rendered the people less attentive to the duties of religion, by promoting idleness and a love of festivity, proscribed these sports, and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their censures, they changed their plan, and determined to take these representations into their own hands. They turned actors; and instead of profane mummeries, presented stories taken from legends, or the Bible. This was the *origin* of sacred comedy. The death of St. Catherine, acted by the monks of St. Dennis, rivalled the popularity of the professed players. Music was admitted into the churches, which served as theatres for the representation of these religious farces. The festivals among the French called *The Feast of Fools, of the Ass,* and *of Innocents,* at length became greater favourites, as they certainly were more capricious and absurd, than the interludes of the buffoons at the fairs.[48]

Another ingenious, and novel theory on this subject, supposes religious plays to have originated at Constantinople, where the old Grecian stage continued to flourish in some degree, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were represented, till the fourth century. About that period, Gregory Nazianzen, a bishop, a poet, and one of the fathers of the church, banished pagan plays from the stage at Constantinople, and introduced select stories from the Old and New Testament. As the ancient Greek tragedy, was regarded by the heathens, as a religious spectacle, it is supposed that a translation was made on the same plan, and that the chorusses were turned into Christian hymns. Gregory wrote many sacred dramas for this purpose, of which the only one now extant is the tragedy, called Χριστος πασχων or CHRIST'S PASSION. In the prologue, it is said to be in imitation of Euripides,

(48) Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, II. pp. 366, 367.

and that this is the first time the Virgin Mary has been produced on the stage. The fashion of acting spiritual dramas, in which, at first, a due degree of method and decorum was preserved, was at length adopted from Constantinople by the Italians; who framed, in the depth of the dark ages, on this foundation, that barbarous species of theatrical representation, called MYSTERIES, or *Sacred Comedies*, and which were soon afterwards received in France. This opinion is rendered more probable by considering the early commercial intercourse between Italy and Constantinople; for, although the Italians, at the time when they are supposed to have imported plays of this nature, did not understand the Greek language, yet they could understand, and consequently could imitate, what they saw. It may also be further observed, in defence of this hypothesis, that the *Feast of Fools*, and of the *Ass*, with other farces of that sort, so common in Europe, originated at Constantinople. They were instituted, although perhaps under other names, in the Greek church, about the year 990, by Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, probably with a better design than is imagined by the ecclesiastical annalists; that of weaning the minds of the people from the pagan ceremonies, particularly the Bacchanalian and Kalendary solemnities, by the substitution of Christian spectacles, partaking of the same spirit of licentiousness; a principle of accommodation, however, which cannot be too severely reprehended. The fact is recorded by Cedrenus, (*Compend. Hist.* p. 639.) one of the Byzantine historians, who flourished about the year 1050, in the following words, "Εργον εκεινο, κ. τ. λ." "Theophylact introduced the practice which prevails even to this day, of scandalizing God, and the memory of his saints, on the most splendid and popular festivals, by indecent and ridiculous songs, and enormous shoutings, even in the midst of those sacred hymns, which we ought to offer to the Divine Grace, with compunction of heart,

for the salvation of our souls. But he, having collected a company of base fellows, and placing over them one Euthymius, surnamed Casnes, whom he also appointed the superintendent of his church, admitted into the sacred service, diabolical dances, exclamations of ribaldry, and ballads borrowed from the streets and brothels."[49] But at a much earlier period than that of Theophylact, attempts had been made to imitate the style and manner of the most elegant Greek classics, in the composition of *Scriptural Dramas*. The imitations of the APOLLINARII in the fourth century, have been already noticed; and the fragments of a much more early and more singular specimen of a dramatical representation of Sacred History, are yet preserved in the extracts from an ancient *Jewish* play on the EXODUS, or the *Departure of the Israelites from Egypt, under their leader and prophet Moses*. The author was Ezekiel, a Jew. Huetius, (Demonstrat. Evangelic. p. 99.) and Whitaker, (*Origin of Arianism*, pp. 213, 214. 219,) endeavour to prove that he wrote before the Christian era; but Warton, (vol. II. p. 372,) deems it most probable, that he flourished at the close of the second century, and composed his drama in Greek iambics, in imitation of the Grecian stage, after the Jews had been dispersed and intermixed with other nations. The principal characters in this piece are Moses, Sapphora, and God speaking from the burning bush. Moses delivers the prologue, or introduction, in a speech of sixty lines, and his rod is turned into a serpent on the stage. Clemens Alexandrinus, in his *Stromata*, and Eusebius, in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, have each preserved fragments of this writer. Portions of these extracts are copied, and translations given, in Whitaker's *Origin of Arianism*. See also *Corpus poetar. Gr. Tragicor. et Comicor.* Genev. 1614. fol. and *Poetæ Christian. Græci*, Paris, 1609, 8vo.

A third hypothesis respecting the origin of the myste-

(49) Warton, II. pp. 368—370.

ries and miracle plays, is that of Menestrier and Boileau, who seem to think that the ancient PILGRIMAGES introduced them into France. The pilgrims who returned from Jerusalem and other places esteemed holy, composed songs on their adventures; intermixing recitals of passages in the life of Christ, descriptions of his crucifixion, of the day of judgment, of miracles, and martyrdoms. To these tales, which were recommended by a pathetic chant, and a variety of gesticulations, the credulity of the multitude gave the name of *Visions*. These pious itinerants travelled in companies; and taking their stations in the most public streets, and singing with their staves in their hands, and their hats and mantles fantastically adorned with shells, and emblems painted in various colours, formed a sort of theatrical spectacle. At length their performances excited the charity and compassion of some citizens of Paris, who erected a theatre in which they might exhibit their religious stories, in a more commodious and advantageous manner, with the addition of scenery and other decorations. At length professed practitioners in the histrionic art were hired to perform these solemn mockeries of religion, which soon became the principal public amusement of the people.[50]

A similar idea of the origin of these theatrical exhibitions is entertained by a sensible writer in a popular periodical work, who remarks, "that representations, approaching as near as possible to the facts, were annually exhibited in the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. These were the actions of our Saviour's sufferings:" and adds an observation by M. Millin, that in France, "the pilgrims, after vespers, exhibited dramatic representations, upon the pavement, in the open space, before the doors of churches." He then proceeds to state his own opinion of the origin of the MORALITIES &c. by saying,

(50) Warton, II. pp. 372, 373.
Burney's Hist, of Music, II. p. 325. Lond. 1776, 4to.

"it appears likely, that, in the East, certain celebrations were instituted, in which the original action was imitated by way of making the greater impression on the minds of spectators: those among these spectators who had no better employment, when they got home endeavoured to effect imitations of what they had seen abroad. It may not be easy to convince such as have never seen the continent, of the interest taken by spectators, at the sight of those shews carried about in boxes, representing the *'Ecce Homo,'* the crucifixion &c. or of the attention (formerly) paid to a *Chanteur de Cantiques,* who sung his carols with such images before him. Those who can recollect such sights, will think it very credible that these are traditionary memorials of the once popular festivities; as the custom of singing Christmas carols is almost the only remaining vestige of these *Cantiques;* to which our ancestors, in the days of darkness, were indebted for a feeble ray of knowledge."[51]

"On the whole," says Warton, "the MYSTERIES appear to have *originated* among the ecclesiastics; and were most probably first acted, at least with any degree of form, by the monks. This was certainly the case in the English monasteries. The only persons who could read were in the religious societies; and various other circumstances, peculiarly arising from their situation, profession, and institution, enabled the monks to be the sole performers of these representations."[52]

The *first* spectacle of the kind that was ever attempted in England, at least with which we are acquainted, was exhibited under the direction of Geoffrey, a learned Norman, who had been invited from the university of Paris, to superintend the direction of the school of the priory of Dunstable; where he composed a play, called the Play of SAINT CATHERINE, which was acted by his scholars,

(51) Literary Panorama, VII. pp. 714, 715.
(52) Warton, *ubi sup.*

about A. D. 1110. Matthew Paris, who first records this anecdote, says, that Geoffrey borrowed copes from the sacrist of the neighbouring abbey of St. Alban's, to dress his characters. He was afterwards elected abbot of that opulent monastery.[53] In the same century, Peter of Blois, who had been invited into England by Henry II. employed by him as his private secretary, and made archdeacon of Bath, congratulates his brother William, who was an abbot, on the fame he had acquired by his tragedy of *Flaura and Marcus*, and by his other *theological* works: and W. Fitz Stephen, a monk of Canterbury, who wrote a "Description of London" in 1190, *Descript. Lond.* p. 7, says," London, for theatrical spectacles, hath religious plays, which are representations of the miracles which holy confessors had wrought, and of the sufferings by which martyrs had displayed their constancy."[54]

In the North of Europe, these dramatic exhibitions were encouraged by Albrecht, bishop of Livonia, who, after having dragooned the Livonians into a profession of Christianity, built the town of Riga, in 1201; and afterwards instituted the performance of *Scripture-plays*, as the means of instructing the people of his charge in the knowledge of Biblical history. "Of the methods employed in teaching" (by Albrecht) "history mentions only one. At Riga, in 1205, was acted a PROPHETIC PLAY, that is, a dramatized extract from the history of the Old and New Testaments. The design was by this means to allure the heathen to the adoption of Christianity, partly by attaching the converts to their new religion by sensible gratification; and partly to instruct them in the history of it. The Livonians, baptized and unbaptized, resorted to it in multitudes, and they were informed of the contents by an interpreter. The piece was probably in Latin. The number of performers must have been very great, (perhaps

(53) Warton, I. Dissert. 2. and sect. 6. p. 236.
(54) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, VI. B. iii. ch. vii. p. 375.

it consisted of the whole order, together with the chapter,) as battles and wars were represented; for instance, from the history of Gideon, David, and Herod. The first exhibition, however, was like to have been attended by very serious consequences. When the Israelites, under Gideon's command, were fighting at close quarters with the Midianites, the heathens took it into their heads that the armed troops were brought in under this pretence, in order to fall upon them. They, therefore, sought their safety in flight. Their mistake, however, being explained to them, they were persuaded to return, and the play was brought to a happy conclusion."[55]

The institution of the Fraternity *del Gonfalone*, in ITALY, in the year 1264, proves the frequency of these Scripture plays amongst the Italians at that period. In the statutes of that company, printed at Rome, in 1584, p. 74, we find the following notice of their constitution: "The principal design of our fraternity being to represent the *Passion of Jesus Christ*, we ordain, that in case the mysteries of the said passion are represented, our ancient orders shall be observed, together with what shall be prescribed by the *general congregation*." It is probable, that it was about the same time also, that the *Passion of our Lord* began to be represented at the Coliseum at Rome, where it continued to be exhibited till the sixteenth century, when it was abolished by the pope. In the year 1298, on the feast of Pentecost, and the two following holidays, the representation of the PLAY OF CHRIST, that is, of his passion, resurrection, ascension, judgment, and the mission of the Holy Ghost, was performed by the clergy of *Civita Vecchia;* and again in 1304, the chapter of Civita Vecchia exhibited a play of the creation of our first parents, the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the birth of Christ, and other passages of Sacred Scripture. In a feast made upon the Arno, in 1304, a machine representing *hell*, was fixed

(55) Tooke's View of the Russian Empire, I. B. ii. sect, 2. pp. 390, 391.

upon the boats, and a piece acted, towards the end of which, the *rich man* in hell was seen begging relief, in vain, of the poor *Lazarus* in Abraham's bosom.[56]

In FRANCE, the first notice I have met with of these theatrical exhibitions is in 1313, when Philip the *Fair* gave a magnificent feast at Paris. He invited the king of England to it; and among other diversions, the people are said to have "represented divers shows, sometimes the joys of the blessed in heaven, and sometimes the punishments of the damned." In 1398, the mysteries of the passion were first represented, on a theatre at St. Maur, but were prohibited by the provost of Paris, by an order, whereby he forbade "all the inhabitants &c. to act or represent any play by persons, either the lives of the saints, or otherwise, without leave of the king." The actors in these representations formed a part of the royal household; and in order to make themselves more agreeable to the public, erected their society into a fraternity, by the name of *The Actors of our Saviour's Passion.* Charles VI. went to see these shows, and was so well pleased with them, that he granted the actors letters patent, dated the 4th of December, 1402. They also built the Theatre of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, on which, during the space of almost one hundred and fifty years, they acted the *Mysteries*, or other pieces of a similar nature, under the common title of *Moralities.* Francis I. by his letters-patent, dated in the month of January, 1518, confirmed all the privileges of this fraternity.[57]

These religious farces were also held in high estimation in the Greek church, as well as in the Latin. Bertrandon de la Brocquiere, counsellor and first esquire-carver to Philip the *Good*, duke of Burgundy, who visited Palestine in 1432, tells us, that when he was at CONSTANTINOPLE,

(56) Riccoboni's Historical and Critical Account of the Theatres in Europe, pp. 40. 42, 43. 45. 50.
Warton, I. pp. 249, 250.

(57) Riccoboni, pp. 114, 122, 123. Warton, I. p. 246.

being desirous of witnessing the manner of the Greeks performing divine service, he went to the church of St. Sophia, on a day when the patriarch officiated. "The emperor was present, accompanied by his wife, his mother, and brother, the despot of Morea.* A *mystery* was represented, the subject of which was, *the three youths whom Nebuchadnezzar had ordered to be thrown into the fiery furnace.*"[58]

The composers of the MYSTERIES did not think the plain and probable events of the Holy Scriptures sufficiently marvellous for an audience who wanted only to be surprized. They frequently selected their materials from books which had more the air of romance, particularly the legends and pseudo-gospels. They also introduced into them the most ludicrous and licentious conversations and actions. In a mystery of the MASSACRE OF THE HOLY INNOCENTS, part of the subject of a sacred drama given by the English Fathers at the famous council of Constance, in the year 1417, a low buffoon of Herod's court is introduced, desiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to *to go on the adventure* of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical business is treated with the most ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their spinning-wheels, break his head with their distaffs, abuse him as a coward and a disgrace to chivalry, and send him home to Herod, as a recreant champion, with much ignominy.[59] In the year 1327, a play of the OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT was exhibited at Chester, at the expense of the different trading companies of that city, of which the following is the sub-

* "This emperor was John Palæologus II.—his brother Demetrius, despot or prince of the Peloponnesus,—his mother Irene, daughter to Constantine Dragases, sovereign of a small country in Macedonia,—his wife Maria Comnenis, daughter to Alexis, emperor of Trebisonde."

(58) Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquiere, translated by Thomas Johnes, Esq. p. 223. 8vo. 1807.

(59) Warton, I. p. 242.

stance, and order, of the former part of the play—God enters, creating the world:—he breathes life into Adam, leads him into Paradise, and opens his side while sleeping.—Adam and Eve appear naked, and *not ashamed;* and the old serpent enters, lamenting his fall.—He converses with Eve.—She eats of the forbidden fruit, and gives part to Adam.—They propose, according to the stage-direction, to make themselves *subligacula a foliis, &c.*—Cover themselves with leaves, and converse with God.—God's curse. —The serpent *exit* hissing.—They are driven from paradise by four angels, and the cherubim with a flaming sword.—Adam appears digging the ground, and Eve spinning.[60] In the part of the same play, which refers to the entrance of Noah and his family into the Ark, an altercation takes place between him and his wife, which occupies almost the whole of what is called the third *pageaunt*. The following extract is from Lyson's MAGNA BRITANNIA, in which it is copied from the *Harleian MSS.* in the British Museum:

"NOE AND HIS SHIPPE."

"Then Noe shall goe into the arke with all his familye his wife except, the arke must be borded rounde aboute and upon the bordes all the beastes and fowles hereafter rehearsed must be painted that there wordes may agree with the pictures,"

NOE.

"Wiffe come in, why standes thou there
Thou arte ever frowarde I dare well sweare."

NOE'S WIFFE.

"Yea sir, set up your sayle
And row forth with evill haile,
For withouten faile I wille not out
Out of this towne;
But I have my gossippes every eich one,
One foote further I will not gone;
The shall not drowne by St. John,
And I may save there life;
But thou wylt let them into that cheist,
Else row forth Noe where thou list,
And get thee a new wife."

(60) Warton, I. p. 243, 244.

THE GOOD GOSSIPPES.

"The flood comes flitting in full fast,
One every syde that spreadeth full farr;
For feare of drowning I ame agaste,
Good gossippes let us draw neer;
And let us drinke or we departe,
For oft-tymes we have done soe,
For at a draught thou drinkes a quarte,
And soe will I doe or I goe;
Here is a pottell full of Malmeseye gode and stronge
Yt will rejoice both hart and tonge;
Though Noe thinke us never so longe,
Yet we will drinke alike.

JAPHAT.

"Mother, we pray you all together,
For we are here your owne children;
Come into the shippe for feare of the weather."

NOE'S WIFFE.

"That will I not for all your call,
But I have my gossippes all."

SEM.

"In fayth mother yet thou shalt
Whether thou wylt or not."

NOE.

"Welcome wife into this boat."

WIFE.

"Have thou that for thy note
*(et dat alapam,**
"Ha! ha! marye; that is hott,
It is good for to be still;
A! children methinkes my boat remeves,
Our tarrying here highly me greeves;
Over the lande the water spreades,
God doe as he will."[61]

The GUARE-MIR, or Miracle-Plays of Cornwall, were interludes, the subjects of which were taken from Scripture, and performed in the *Cornish* tongue, in places called *Rounds*, which were a kind of amphitheatre, with benches, either of stone or turf; Dr. Borlase, in his *Natural History of Cornwall*, has given the plan of a very large and regular "Round," formed with the exactness of a fortification, in the parish of Piran-sand, called Piran Round. In the Bodleian Library there are two MSS. which contain some of these interludes, or as the

* 'She gives him a box on the ear.'

(61) Lyson's Magna Britannia, II. pt. ii. p. 595, Lond. 1810, 4to.

author calls them *Ordinalia*. The first, on parchment, written in the fifteenth century, exhibits three *Ordinalia;* the first treats of the creation of the world, the second of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the third of the resurrection. The other MS. is on paper, written by William Jordan, in the year 1611. This has only one *Ordinale*, of the creation of the world, and the deluge. The first *Ordinale* of the creation begins thus, (God the Father speaking:)

(CORNISH.)

En Tas a Nef ym Gylmyr
Formyer pub tra a vydh gwrys
Onan ha tryon yn gwyr
En Tas, han Mab, han Spyrys.
Ha hethyn me a thesyr
Dre ou grath dalleth an Bys
Y lavaraf, nef, ha Tyr
Formyys orthe ou brys.

ENGLISHED.

The Father of Heaven, I the Maker,
Former of every thing that shall be made,
One, and Three, truly,
The Father, the Son, and the Spirit
Yes—this day it is my will
Of my especial favour to begin the world;
I have said it—Heaven and Earth
Be ye formed by my counsel.

But the poetry is the least exceptionable part of these interludes. A person called the *Ordinary* was the chief manager; every thing was done as he prescribed, and spoken as he prompted. The persons of these dramas are numerous; in the first *Ordinale* of the creation, no fewer than fifty-six; in the second sixty-two; and in the third sixty. Princes, patriarchs, saints, angels, (good and bad,) and even the persons of the EVER BLESSED TRINITY, are introduced. Unity of time, action, and place, is not at all attended to; the first-mentioned play runs through a space of time from the creation to King Solomon's building the temple, and incongruously ordaining a bishop to keep it. It takes in also the fabulous legend of Maximilla, in which part the actors are, a bishop, a crosier-bearer, a messenger, four tormentors, the mar-

tyr, Gebal, and Amalek. The bishop gives to the tormentors, for putting the martyr to death, Behethlan, Bosaneth, and all Chenary, three places in Cornwall. King Solomon speaks the epilogue. The audience, with a strict charge to appear early on the morrow, in order to see THE PASSION acted, is dismissed in these words:

CORNISH.
Abarth an Tas
Menstroles a' ras
Pebourgh whare
Hag ens pub dre

ENGLISHED.
"In the name of the Father,
Ye Minstrels holy,
Tune your pipes,
And let every one go to his home."[62]

This may serve to give a general notion of these interludes, which were all translated into English by Mr. John Keigwyn, of Mousehoule, at the desire of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bart. bishop of Winchester, in a literal manner, for the better understanding the language.

Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, says, "for representing it," (i. e. the Guary Miracle,) "they raise an earthen amphitheatre in some open field, having the diameter of an inclosed plane, some forty to fifty feet. The country people flock from all sides, many miles off, to see and hear it. For they have therein devils and devices to delight, as well the eye as the ear."[63]

But, whatever was the source of these exhibitions, or whatever were the inconsistencies in the delineations of characters, it is certain, that our ancestors thought they contributed to the information and instruction of the people on the most important subjects of religion; so that whilst we lament the blindness of their guides, we must acknowledge, that where no just idea of decorum prevailed, there would be but little sense of the ridi-

(62) Borlase's Natural Hist. of Cornwall, p. 295—298. Oxf. 1758, fol.
(63) Johnson and Steevens' Shakspeare, VII. p. 174. Dissert. Warburton. Lond. 1785, 8vo.

culous, and that what appears to us to be the highest burlesque, would on them make no sort of impression. That this opinion was formerly entertained of these plays, perhaps no stronger proof can be adduced, than what is afforded by a proclamation issued at Chester, in 1533, for the *Whitsun Plays*, by William Newall, clerk of the Pentice, during the mayoralty of William Snead:

"FORASMUCH as of ould tyme not only for the augmentation and increase of the holy catholic faith of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and to exhort the minds of common people to good devotion, and holsome doctrine thereof, but also for the comonwelth and prosperity of this city, a play and declaration of divers storyes of the Bible, beginning with the creation and fall of Lucifer, and endinge with the general judgment of the world, to be declared and played in the Whitson weeke, was devised and made by one Sir Henry Francis,* sometyme monke of this monasterye disolved, who obtayned and gat of Clement, the bushop of Rome, a thousand dayes of pardon, and of the bushop of Chester, at that tyme, forty dayes of pardon, graunted from thenceforth to every person resorting in peaceable manner, with good devotion, to hear and see the sayd playes, from tyme to tyme, as oft as they shall be played within the sayd cittie, (and that every person or persons disturbing the said playes, in any manerwise, to be accursed by the authority of the sayd Pope Clement's bulls, untill such tyme as he or they bee absolved thereof;) which playes were devised to the honor of God, by John Arnway, then maior of this citty of Chester, (about A. D. 1328,) his brethren and whole cominalty thereof, to be brought forth, declared and played at the coste and charges of the

* "A marginal note" to this proclamation, "in another hand, asserts that they were written by Randal Higden, to whom they are generally ascribed. It is probable that Sir Henry Francis only procured the pardons mentioned in the proclamation. It is said in a note prefixed to a copy of these (Whitsun) plays in the British Museum, Harl. MSS. No. 2124, that Higden was thrice at Rome, before he could obtain leave of the pope to have them represented in the English tongue."

craftesmen, and occupations of the said cittie;----wherefore Mr. Maior, in the kings name streatly chargeth, &c.[64]

The clergy themselves were generally the performers in the *Mysteries* and *Moralities*. In the reign of Richard II. the clergy, and the scholars of St. Paul's school, presented a petition to him, praying his Majesty "to prohibit a company of unexpert people from presenting the *History of the Old Testament*, to the great prejudice of the said clergy, who have been at great charge and expence, in order to represent it publicly, at *Christmas*." Dr. Burney, referring to the *Northumberland Household Book*, pp. 343, 345, as his authority, states that about the year 1512, the nobility, in imitation of royalty, had, among other officers of their household, *a master of the revels*, "for the overseyinge and orderinge of *Playes* and *Interludes* and dressing, that is plaid in the twelve days of Crestenmas." Of these, the gentlemen and children of the chapel seem to have been the principal performers; for which, and for acting upon other great festivals, they were assigned particular rewards: "Item, my Lorde vseth to gyf yerely, when his lordeshipe is at home, in reward to them of his lordschip chappel that doith play upon shroftewsday, at night, Xs." And when they performed in the dramatic mysteries, such as "the play of the Nativity at Crestenmas, or of the Resurrection upon Esturday," they were allowed XXs.[65]

Other instances have already occurred, of the active part taken by the ecclesiastics in the representation of these religious dramas; to which may be added, the relation of a performance of this nature recorded in the old *Chronique de Metz*, written by the rector of St. Euchaire. "The play of the *Passion of our Lord*," says the honest chronicler, "was performed the 3rd of July, 1437, in the plain of Veximiel. The rector of St. Victoire, of Metz,

(64) Lyson's Magna Britannia, II. pt. ii. p. 590.
(65) Riccoboni, p. 161. Burney's Hist. of Music, II. pp. 570, 571.

personated *our Lord,* and would have died on the cross, had he not been relieved by another priest, who was affixed to the cross to complete the ceremony of the crucifixion for that time. The next day the same rector of St. Victoire personified the *Resurrection,* and accomplished his part excellently." Another priest, who was chaplain of Metrange, personated *Judas,* and through failure of the apparatus, was hung till he was nearly dead."[66] The great *expense* of exhibiting these plays occasioned the beforementioned petition to Richard II. Warton informs us, that the chaplains of Abbeville, in the year 1455, gave *four pounds ten shillings,* to the players of the PASSION; and that in the year 1486, at Anjou, *ten pounds* were paid towards supporting the charges of acting the PASSION OF CHRIST, which was represented by masks, probably by persons hired for the purpose: he also adds, from an ancient computus, that *three shillings* were paid by the ministers of a church, in the year 1537, for parchment, for writing LUDUS RESURRECTIONIS DOMINI.[67]

These dramatic spectacles were at first exhibited in the open air; but it afterwards became customary to perform them, on different festivals, in or about the *Churches.* In several of our old Scriptural Plays, we see some of the scenes directed to be represented *cum cantu et organis,* (a common rubric in the missal,) because they were performed in a church where the choir assisted. Fontenelle *(Hist. Theatr.)* says, that anciently among the French, Comedies were acted after divine service, in the church-yard, *thus changing the mode of instruction.* "Au sortir du Sermon, ces bonnes gens alloient a la *Comedie,* c'est a dire, qu'ils changeoint le Sermon." These however were Scriptural Comedies, and they were constantly preceded by a BENEDICITE, by way of prologue. In Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary, written about the year 1570, there

(66) Johnson and Steevens' Shakspeare, *ubi sup.*
(67) Warton, I. pp. 246, 247.

is a curious passage, which so completely exposes the burlesque and profane nature of these representations, especially in the times immediately preceding the reformation from popery, that I shall transcribe it for the information of the reader: "In the dayes of ceremonial religion, they used at Wytney (in Oxfordshire) to set fourthe yearly in maner of a show, or interlude, the Resurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purposes, and the more lyvely heareby to exhibite to the eye the hole action of the resurrection, the priestes garnished out certain smalle puppettes, representing the persons of Christe, the watchmen, Marie, and others; amongest the which, one bare the parte of a wakinge watchman, who espiinge Christe to arise, made a continual noyce, like to the sound that is caused by the metynge of two styckes, and was thereof commonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*. The like toye I myself, beinge then a childe, once saw in Poule's church at London, at a feast of Whitsuntyde; wheare the comynge downe of the Holy Gost was set forthe by a white pigion, that was let to fly out of a hole that yet is to be sene in the mydst of the roofe of the great ile, and by a longe censer, which desendinge out of the same place almost to the verie grounde, was swinged up and downe at suche a lengthe, that it reached with thone swepe almost to the west-gate of the churche, and with the other to the quyre staires of the same; breathinge out over the whole churche and companie a most pleasant perfume of such swete thinges as burned therein. With the like doome shewes also, they used everie where to furnish sondrye parts of their church service, as by their spectacles of the Nativitie, Passion, and Ascension."[68]

These plays were not only performed in the churches, they were sometimes acted also on the *Sunday*. In the year 1487, while Henry VII. kept his residence at the castle at Winchester, on occasion of the birth of Prince Arthur, he was entertained, on a Sunday, during the time of din-

(68) Warton, II. pp. 240, 241.

ner, with a religious drama called CHRISTUS DESCENSUS AD INFEROS, or *Christ's Descent into Hell.* It was represented by the *Pueri Eleemosynarii,* or choir-boys, of Hyde Abbey, and Saint Swithin's priory, two large monasteries at Winchester. An entertainment of a similar nature was furnished, in 1503, at the marriage of King James of Scotland, with the Princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry VII. On the first Sunday of the magnificent festival, celebrated with high splendour, at Edinburgh, "after dynnar, a MORALITE was played by master Inglyshe, and hys companyons, in the presence of the kyng and qwene." (Leland, Coll. iii, pp. 299, 300. appendix.) So late as the reign of Elizabeth, and even till that of Charles I. plays continued to be acted on *Sundays,* by the choristers, or singing-boys, of Saint Paul's cathedral, in London, and of the royal chapel.[69]

The enormity of these practices was long seen and lamented, by different prelates, who attempted to prevent them. Innocent III. who sat in the papal chair at the commencement of the thirteenth century, prohibited all *Spectacles and Plays* being exhibited in the churches. In the chapter *Cum Decorem,* (*Lib. III. Decretal Tit.* 1, *de vita et honestate Clericorum,*) he says; "Shows and theatrical entertainments are sometimes exhibited in the churches, in which not only the most monstrous masks are introduced, but even the deacons, priests, and subdeacons, have the effrontery, on certain festivals, to practise those follies and buffooneries. We, therefore, enjoin you to exterminate from your churches, the custom, or rather the disgrace, and irregularity, of such spectacles, and shameful entertainments, that their impurity may no longer pollute the honour of the church." The council of Basil, in 1435, acknowledges, that in some churches, and

(69) Warton, II. p. 206; vol. I. p. 241.
Tilliot, Memoires pour servir a l' Histoire de la Fête des Foux, pp. 55, 56, 58, 59. Lausanne et Geneve, 1751, 12mo.

on certain festivals, some persons clothed themselves in the pontifical robes, put on the mitre, held the crozier, and gave the benediction as bishops; others habited themselves like kings and dukes; stage-plays were exhibited; and men and women danced together, attracting a crowd of spectators, and producing the most dissolute mirth. The council, however, expressed its abhorrence of such disorders, and forbade the clergy, under pain of suspension from all their ecclesiastical revenues for three months, to permit such exhibitions in the churches or cemeteries.

In the register of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, under the year 1384, an episcopal injunction is recited, against the exhibition of SPECTULA, or similar diversions, in the cemetery of his cathedral: "Canere Cantilenas, ludibriorum *Spectacula* facere, saltationes et alios ludos inhonestos frequentare, choreas, &c. (Registr. lib. iii. fol. 88.) An interdiction of a similar nature is found among the statutes of the synod of the church of Liege, A. D. 1287; by which joculators or minstrels, actors and dancers are forbidden performing in the church, cemetery, or portico:* Joculatores, histriones, saltatrices, in ecclesia, cemetorio, vel porticu. nec aliquæ choreæ." (*Statut. Synod. Eccles. Leod.* apud Marten. *Thesaur. Anecd.* IV. p 846.) So by the statutes of the church of Nantz, in 1405, joculators, or minstrels, are prohibited exhibiting in the church and cemetery: "Mimi vel joculatores, ad monstra larvarum in ecclesia et cemeterio." *Statut. Eccles. Nannett. apud Marten. ut sup.* p. 993. In 1445, Charles VII. of France ordered the masters in theology at Paris, to forbid the ministers of the collegiate

* The *Porticus*, or *Portico*, was not the same with what is usually called the *Church-Porch*, but either what is now commonly called the *Side-Isle*, or a particular division of it, consisting of one arch with its recess, and was frequently distinguished by the name of some saint, as *Porticus Sti. Martini* in St. Augustin's church at Canterbury. See "Essays on Gothic Architecture," *Bentham's Essay*, pp. 28, 29. Lond. 800, 8vo.

churches to celebrate, at Christmas, the FEAST OF FOOLS in their churches, where the clergy danced in masks and antic dresses, and exhibited *plusieurs mocqueries spectacles publics, de leurs corps deguisements, farces, rigmeries,* with various enormities shocking to decency. In England, in the reign of Henry VIII. Bonner, bishop of London, issued a proclamation to the clergy of his diocese, dated A. D. 1542, prohibiting "all manner of common plays, games, or interludes to be played, set forth, or declared within their churches, chapels, &c." For many other similar prohibitions, see Tilliot, *Memoires*, &c. *passim*. But so attached were the people to these representations, that they continued to be performed in *churches* even after the Reformation; for, in a pamphlet published in 1580, entitled "*The third Blast of Retrait from Plaies, &c.*" p. 77. the author says, the players are "permitted to publish their mamettrie in everie temple of God, and that, throughout England." And in the year 1603, this abuse of acting plays in churches is mentioned in the canon of James I, which forbids also the profanation of churches by court-leets, &c.[70]

They were, however, not only forbidden the churches, but royal, and episcopal, and even papal authority were entirely, as we have seen, employed to suppress them. In France, the Procureur general, in 1541, presented a request, in the name of the king, to the parliament, against the company established in the Hotel de Bourgogne, for the representation of the mysteries. The three principal branches of his charge against them were, that the representation of the Old Testament stories inclined the people to Judaism; that the New Testament stories encouraged libertinism and infidelity; and that both of them lessened the charities to the poor. It seems that this prosecution succeeded; for in 1588, the parliament of Paris confirmed the company in the possession of the

(70) Warton, I. pp. 240, 241. 247.

Hotel, but interdicted the representation of the mysteries.[71] In Italy, the representation of *the Passion of our Saviour* was abolished towards the end of the pontificate of Paul the third, about A. D. 1546, or 1549.[72] In England, as the Reformation gained ground, and the Bible was permitted to be publicly read, *Mysteries* and *Moralities* gradually yielded to the purer and more rational instruction of the Scriptures themselves, as rendered accessible to the people by vernacular translations. The inconsistent Henry VIII. in the same law by which he forbade Tyndale's English Bible, decreed that the kingdom should be *purged* and *cleansed* of all religious plays, interludes, rhymes, ballads, and songs, which are equally *pestiferous* and *noysome* to the peace of the church.[73]

The accession of Mary to the English throne revived the expectations of the Roman catholics, and the performance of *Mysteries* and *Miracles* became again the medium of papistical instruction, in preference to the Bible. In the year 1556, a *goodly stage-play* of the *Passion of Christ* was presented at the Grey Friars, in London, on Corpus Christi day,* before the lord mayor, the privy council, and many great estates of the realm! Strype also mentions, under the year 1557, a stage-play at the Grey Friars, of the *Passion of Christ*, on the day that war was proclaimed in London against France, and in honour of that occasion. (*Eccl. Mem.* vol. III. ch. xlix.) On Saint Olave's day, in the same year, the holiday of the church in Silver-street, which is dedicated to that saint, was kept with much solemnity. At eight of the clock at

(71) Johnson and Steevens' Shakspeare, VII. p. 176.

(72) Riccoboni, p. 41.

(73) Stat. Ann. 34, 35, Henr. viii. cap. i. cited in Warton, III. pp 202, 203.

* The annual festival of *Corpus Christi* was instituted about the year 1246. The design of it was to impress upon the minds of the people a belief of the reality of transubstantiation. Besides a superb procession through the streets on the day of the celebration, there was commonly a *Mystery*, or interlude, which sometimes lasted eight days.

night, began a stage-play of *goodly matter*, being the miraculous history of the life of that saint, which continued four hours, and was concluded with many religious songs.[74] *John Bale*, a tolerable Latin classic, and an eminent biographer, embraced the reformation; and was advanced to the bishoprick of Ossory, by king Edward VI. Prior to his conversion from popery, he composed many Scriptural interludes, chiefly from incidents of the New Testament; amongst them are, *the Life of Saint John the Baptist*, written in 1538.—*Christ in his Twelfth Year.—Baptism and Temptation.—The Resurrection of Lazarus.—The Council of the High Priests.—Simon the Leper.—Our Lord's Supper, and the Washing of the Feet of his Disciples.—Christ's Burial and Resurrection.—The Passion of Christ.*—The *Comedy* of the *three Laws of Nature, Moses, and Christ, corrupted by the Sodomites, Pharisees and Papists*, printed by Nicholas Bamburgh, in 1538: and so popular that it was reprinted by Colwell, in 1562.—*God's Promises to Man*, which he calls "a *Tragedie*, or interlude, manyfestynge the chyefe *Promises* of God unto man, in all ages, from the begynnynge of the worlde, to the deathe of JESUS CHRISTE, a Mysterie, 1538." Our author, in his "Vocacyon to the Bishoprick of Ossory," informs us, that his *Comedy* of John the Baptist, and his *Tragedy* of God's Promises, were acted by the youths upon a Sunday, at the market-cross of Kilkenny.[75]

In Scotland, these dramatic performances continued to be occasionally exhibited, even after the Reformation, for in the records of the Weekly Assembly of Perth, there is the following entry.—"July 1st. 1577, the weekly assembly regret that certain inhabitants of this town, against the express command of the civil magistrate, and the prohibition delivered by the minister from the pulpit, have played Corpus Christi play, upon the sixth day

(74) Warton, III. p. 326.
(75) Ibid. III. p. 78. Baker's Companion to the Play-House, II.

of June last, which day was wont to be called Corpus Christi day; whereby they have offended the church of God, and dishonoured this haill (whole) town; the said play being idolatrous and superstitious." The Assembly ordained that the guilty persons should receive no benefit from the church, till they had showed evidence of their repentance. A similar offence occurred soon afterwards. On the tenth of December, in the same year, usually called "Sanctoberti's eve," a very great number of persons passed through the town in disguised dresses, with piping and dancing, and striking a drum. They carried in their hands burning torches. One of the actors was clad in the devil's coat; another rode upon a horse, which went in men's shoes. It is probable the horse and its rider represented a part of the legendary history of the saint, who seems to have been the patron saint made choice of by the baker incorporation, as the offenders were of that trade.[76] In Germany, the mystery of *the Passion of our Lord* was represented on the stage at Vienna, in the early part of the last century, but prohibited afterwards by the archbishop, on account of the indecencies and profaneness introduced by the actors in the representation.[77] Riccoboni also mentions one of the Electoral cities, though without giving the name of it, in which, speaking of his own time, he says, "they commonly erect a theatre in the cathedral church on one of the days of the holy-week, representing the garden of olives, where Christ, after returning from prayer, found his disciples asleep. All this is done by living persons: and he that represents Christ, goes three times, and awakes the Apostles, and as often returns to prayer.——In a word," he adds, "we may there see a *complete* image of what happened in the garden of olives."[78] The same author assures us, that on certain festivals, in Flanders, they had chariots carrying stages through the

(76) Scott's Hist. of the Reformers in Scotland, pp. 186, 187.
(77) Riccoboni, p. 211.
(78) Ibid, p. 117.

streets, on which subjects were represented in dumb show, taken from the Old or New Testament, or allegorical objects of piety. At Genoa, in 1690, he saw several mysteries exhibited on the theatres erected at the corners of the streets, on Corpus Christi day; and at Naples, at the Feast of the Holy Sacrament, they exhibited similar subjects. The Spanish *Autos Sacramentales*, were sacred dramas, acted at certain seasons of the year, but especially at Christmas; consisting chiefly of allegorical personages, and are still continued, or were, till lately, in different parts of Spain. Even so late as the year 1738, we find the canons of the cathedral of Besançon, in France, celebrating a mummery in the cloisters and church on Easter-day, called BERGERETTA, or *the Song of the Shepherds*:[79] and in South America, the Romish church continues its theatrical exhibitions to the present time. Mr. Henry Koster, who visited Brazil in 1809, thus describes the service of Good Friday, at Recife: "The church was much crowded, and the difficulty of getting in was considerable. An enormous curtain hung from the ceiling, excluding from the sight the whole of the principal chapel. An Italian missionary friar of the Penha convent, with a long beard, and dressed in a thick dark brown cloth habit, was in the pulpit, and about to commence an extempore sermon. After an exordium of some length, adapted to the day, he cried out 'Behold him!' the curtain immediately dropped, and discovered an enormous cross with a full-sized wooden image of our Saviour, exceedingly well carved and painted, and around it a number of angels represented by several young persons, all finely decked out, and each bearing a large pair of out-stretched wings, made of gauze; a man, dressed in a bob wig, and a pea green robe, as St. John; and a female kneeling at the foot of the cross, as the Magdalen, whose character, as I was informed, seemingly that no-

(79) Riccoboni, pp. 115, 116. 95. Warton, II. p. 368.

thing might be wanting, was not the most pure. The friar continued, with much vehemence, and much action, his narrative of the crucifixion, and after some minutes, again cried out 'Behold, they take him down;' when four men, habited in imitation of Roman soldiers, stepped forwards. The countenances of these persons were in part concealed by black crape. Two of them ascended ladders placed on each side against the Cross, and one took down the board, bearing the letters I. N. R. I. Then was removed the crown of thorns, and a white cloth was put over, and pressed down upon the head; which was soon taken off, and shown to the people, stained with the circular mark of the crown in blood: this done, the nails which transfix the hands, were by degrees knocked out, and this produced a violent beating of breasts among the female part of the congregation. A long white linen bandage was next passed under each arm-pit of the image; the nail which secured the feet was removed; the figure was let down very gently, and was carefully wrapped up in a white sheet. All this was done by word of command from the preacher. The sermon was then quickly brought to a conclusion, and we left the church."*—(*Travels in Brazil*, pp. 18, 19.) In fine, wherever the Bible is withheld from the people, the most degrading superstitions extend their baneful influence over the minds, not only of the uncultivated, but too generally over those also who have enjoyed superior opportunities of mental cultivation. The circulation of the Bible produces the triumph of reason and of truth; and where the Divine Word is known, and studied, and followed, its benign influence will accelerate the mental and moral improvement of all ranks of society.

From the details of ignorance, superstition, and profanity, into which we have been led by a desire to expose

* After this detail, we do not wonder to hear that although almanacks, and the Lives of the Saints, and certain books of devotion, are sold at the Benedictine convent, the Bible and Testament are not among them; and that at Pernambuco there is neither printing-press nor bookseller.

the insufficiency of those modes of instruction, which have been substituted for the Scriptures; and for which we can only be excused by their intimate connection with the history of Biblical Literature, we resume with pleasure our former subject, and proceed to present the reader with some proofs, that amid all the disadvantages of the *twelfth* century, there were various learned men who pursued their Biblical studies with good success.

In the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS. No. 5786, is a POLYGLOTT PSALTER, written in *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Arabic*. The date of it is 1153, but from being faded is read with difficulty.[80] The learned Joseph Scaliger possessed a copy of the FOUR GOSPELS, in *Arabic*, written in the year of the world 6687, i. e. A. D. 1179.[81] An *Arabic* PSALTER is also preserved in the library of St. Lawrence, executed about the close of the *twelfth century*, by Theodulus Aben Alfathl, a Melchite deacon of Antioch. It is a translation from the Greek version of the LXX. There is another *Arabic* PSALTER in the Vatican Library, translated from the Greek, by a deacon named Abdallah *fil.* Alphadli, whom Le Long supposes to be the same with the preceding Theodulus. This latter copy is upon paper, in 4to.[82] At this period general science was diligently pursued among the Arabians. Among the African or Moorish Moslems, we find *Essachalli*, a native of Sicily, celebrated for his geographical writings; and *Ebn Albaithar* renowned for medical and botanical knowledge. In Spain were *Avenzoar*, and *Thophail*, the first, deemed the rational improver of Arabian medicine; the second, the author of some admired works, and the faithful follower of Aristotle; both of them famed as the masters of the great *Averroes*, born at Corduba, and viewed by his contemporaries as a prodigy of science. In Asia

(80) Classical Journal, No. xvi, Dec. 1813. p. 453.
(81) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. ch. ii. p. 120. Paris, 1723.
(82) Ibid. p. 118, et Index Auctor. p. 584.

flourished *Gazzali*, a man of uncommon acquirements, as a philosopher, a Mohammedan theologian, a jurist, and a poet.[83] Many of the learned productions of the Mohammedan Arabians were translated into Latin by the Christians; the high esteem in which the erudition of that people was held, together with a desire of converting the Spanish Saracens to Christianity, having excited many to study their language, and to acquire a considerable knowledge of their doctrine. *Gerhard* of *Cremona*, who was famous among the Italians for his eminent skill in astronomy and physic, undertook a voyage to Toledo, and translated several Arabian treatises. *Mirimet*, a French monk, travelled into Spain and Africa to learn geography among the Saracens. *Daniel Morlach*, an Englishman, who was extremely fond of mathematical learning, went to Toledo, and brought from thence a considerable number of Arabian books. *Peter*, abbot of Clugni, surnamed the *Venerable*, after having resided some time among the Spaniards, in order to make himself master of the *Arabic* language, translated into Latin the *Alcoran*, and the *Life of Mohammed*. On his arrival in Spain, he found persons of learning from England, and other places, who were employing themselves with extraordinary assiduity and ardour, to the study of astrology; a science, which, however futile in its nature, has, at different periods, been enthusiastically pursued by men of considerable learning and talent, in almost every nation.[84] Unhappily, the subtilties of the Stagyrite, and the conjectures of astrology, were preferred to the plain and impressive truths of the Scriptures, and except in the instances we have adduced, and the Biblical labours of the *Spanish* Jews, but little evidence is afforded of the study of the Bible in this age, by the scholars of Arabia, or the lovers of Arabian erudition.

(83) Berington's Literary Hist. of Middle Ages, Ap. ii, pp. 671—680.
(84) Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. III. p. 40, 41.

The most eminent of those Jews who flourished in this century, in Spain, were ABEN EZRA, MAIMONIDES, DAVID KIMCHI, and SOLOMON JARCHI.

R. ABEN EZRA was born about A. D. 1099. He was very greatly esteemed for his various learning and acquirements. His skill in different languages, and especially in the Arabic, appears in his *Commentaries*, particularly in his criticisms on several parts of the *Book of Job*. As an astronomer, his discoveries were sanctioned by the ablest mathematicians; and as a physician, his medical knowledge was extensive. But his greatest celebrity has arisen from his *Commentaries on all the books of the Old Testament*. Instead of following the usual method of his predecessors, he endeavoured to exhibit the grammatical and literal sense of the Sacred Scriptures; a plan by which he has secured the esteem of both Jews and Gentiles. These Commentaries have been printed in the great Hebrew Bibles of Bomberg, and Buxtorf.

Impelled by a thirst of learning he spent a considerable part of his life in visiting those countries that were renowned for science and art. After passing through England, France, Italy, Greece, and other countries, he expired in the Isle of Rhodes, in his 75th year, about A. D. 1174.[85]

R. MOSES BEN MAIMON, better known by his abbreviated name MAIMONIDES, was born at Cordova in Spain, A. D. 1131. His father, who sustained the office of judge, was highly respected both by Jews and Christians, for his knowledge of jurisprudence, and the ability and integrity with which he executed the difficult duties of the magistracy. The education of Moses was at first superintended by his father; and afterwards intrusted to the most learned Rabbins of his country. Possessing a mind vigorous, penetrating, and acute, he not only made rapid

(85) Relandi Analecta Rabbinica, in Vit. Celeb. Rabbin. pp. 69—80. Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. vii, ch. viii. pp. 625, 626. fol.

progress in rabbinical literature, but excelled also in mathematical, metaphysical, and medical sciences. To a knowledge of the Hebrew and Arabic, he added an acquaintance with the Chaldee, and Turkish, and Greek languages, beside other more modern dialects spoken in the countries in which he resided.

At the age of twenty-three, he commenced his *Commentaries on the Mishna*, which he completed seven years afterwards in Egypt. Dr. Pocock, in his *Porta Mosis*, or Mishnical Dissertations of Maimonides, has given the history of this work which was written in Arabic, and then translated into Hebrew, and from that version was published in Latin, by Surenhusius.

The violent persecutions to which the Jews were exposed in Spain, drove him from his native country into Egypt, where he resided during the remainder of his life. For want of other employment, he was reduced to the necessity of trading as a jeweller; but, embracing the opportunity of commencing a school, he soon became famous for his learning and talents; and his instructions were attended by numerous and respectable pupils. At length his merit introduced him to the notice of the sultan, who appointed him his physician, and allowed him a pension. In an epistle to his friend R. Samuel Aben Tybbon, he thus describes the daily occupations of his important situation:—"I generally visit the sultan every morning; and when either he, or his children, or wives are attacked with any disorder, I am detained in attendance the whole of the day; or when any of the nobility are sick, I am ordered to visit them. But, if nothing prevent, I repair to my own habitation at noon, where I no sooner arrive, exhausted and faint with hunger, than I find myself surrounded with a crowd of Jews and Gentiles, nobles and peasants, judges and tax-gatherers, friends and enemies, eagerly expecting the time of my return. Alighting from my horse, I wash my hands according to custom,

and then courteously and respectfully saluting my guests, intreat them to wait with patience whilst I take some refreshment. Dinner concluded, I hasten to inquire into their various complaints, and to prescribe for them the necessary medicines. Such is the business of every day. Frequently, indeed, it happens, that some are obliged to wait till evening, and I continue for many hours, and even to a late hour of the night, incessantly engaged in listening, talking, ordering, and prescribing, till I am so overpowered with fatigue and sleep, that I can scarcely utter a word."[86]

During his residence in Egypt, he wrote his *Yad Chazachah*, or the Strong-Hand, and *Moreh Nebochim*, or Instructor of the Perplexed. The יד חזקה, or Strong Hand, is an excellent *digest* or abridgment of all the laws and ordinances of the *Talmud*. It was printed at Soncini, in Italy, in 1490, fol. and has been several times republished, particularly at Venice, in 1550, and at Amsterdam, in 1702, 4 vols. fol. It is divided into 14 titles, or sections: a list of these, with the names of those learned men who have translated any of them into Latin, is given by Dr. Wotton, in his *Miscellaneous Discourses relating to the traditions and usages of the Scribes and Pharisees, in our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ's time:* vol. II. pp. 273—278.

The מורה נבוכים, or Instructor of the Perplexed, is a critical, philosophical, and theological work, in which the author endeavours to explain the difficult passages, phrases, parables, allegories, and ceremonies of the Old Testament. It is rendered particularly valuable, by an excellent exposition of the grounds and reasons of the Mosaic Laws. An eminent Biblical critic has characterized it as "a very curious and important work; and one of the most rational that ever proceeded from the pen of a rabbin."[87]

(86) Buxtorf. Moreh Nevochim, in *Præfat*. Basil, 1621, fol.
(87) Dr. Adam Clarke. See Bibliog. Dict. II. p. 87.

It was written in *Arabic*, and translated into *Hebrew*, with his approbation, by his friend and disciple R. Samuel Aben Tybbon. In 1520, Justinian, bishop of Nebio, published a Latin version of this work in folio, printed at Paris, by Badius Ascensius. The younger Buxtorf undertook a new translation of the Hebrew into Latin, which was printed at Basil, by J. J. Genath, 1629, 4to. and to which the translator prefixed a preface, including a biographical account of the author. The Hebrew, with a triple rabbinical commentary, was printed in 1553, at Venice; and at Jaznitz, 1742. Other editions have also been printed of this celebrated work, beside those now mentioned, but which it is needless to enumerate. About the close of the seventeenth century, Dr. Thomas Hyde issued proposals for an Arabic edition, to be accompanied with notes, and a new Latin version; a specimen of which, being all that was ever printed, was published by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, in the *Syntagma Dissertationum quas olim auctor doctissimus Thomas Hyde, S. T. P. separatim edidit*, vol. alter. pp. 433—448. Oxon. 1767, 4to.

Our great author, Maimonides, died in Egypt, at the age of 70, and was buried in the *Land of Israel*. Such was the esteem in which he was universally held, that there was a general mourning for three whole days, by the Egyptians, as well as Jews, and the year in which he died, was called *Lamentum Lamentabile*. "The memory of Maimonides," says Dr. Clavering, "still flourishes, and will for ever flourish."[88]

R. David Kimchi was a native of Narbonne, annexed at that period to the crown of Castile. Disputes having arisen among the Jews respecting the *Moreh Nebochim* of Maimonides, our Rabbi became the zealous defender of that celebrated writer, and one of the chief

(88) Clavering, Mosis Maimonidis Tract. Duo. in *Dissert. de Maimonide*. Oxon. 1705, 4to.
See also Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. vii. ch. viii. Lond. 1708, fol.

instruments in terminating them in his favour, in 1232, after having been continued for forty years. These disputes being happily brought to a conclusion, he devoted his time and talents to the composition of various theological and grammatical works, which have obtained considerable celebrity. His COMMENTARY on the principal books of the Old Testament, and in particular on the prophet Isaiah, is still held in high estimation, and said to be excellent and useful. His GRAMMATICAL WORKS have afforded very great assistance to later Hebrew grammarians; and the learned *Sanctus Pagninus*, who wrote at the commencement of the fifteenth century, borrowed the most part of his Hebrew Lexicon and Grammar from the writings of Kimchi. Our Rabbi had also a brother eminent for his literary accomplishments, whose name was MOSES; he was the author of a work entitled *The Garden of Pleasure*, in which he treated of the nature of souls. It was never printed, but is preserved in MS. in the Vatican Library, at Rome.[89]

Another eminent Jew who flourished in the twelfth century was R. SOLOMON JARCHI, or *Isaaki*, whose name is frequently abbreviated into *Rashi*, as that of R. David Kimchi is into *Radak*. He was by birth a Frenchman, being born at Troyes, in the province of Champagne, in 1105. At the age of 30, he travelled abroad, and not only visited Italy and Greece, but penetrated to Egypt, Palestine, Persia, Tartary, Moscovy, and other countries; and returned through Germany to his native city, after an absence of more than five years. He wrote a COMMENTARY *on the whole of the Old Testament*, but it is said to be "so completely obscure in many places, as to require a very large comment to make it intelligible."[90] During his travels he made collections of the decisions of

(89) Relandi Analecta Rabbinica, *Vit. Celeb. Rab.* pp. 81—102. Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. vii. ch. viii. pp. 620, 630.

(90) Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary, *Gen. Pref.* p. iii.

the wise men in different Jewish academies, respecting the difficulties to be met with in the *Talmud*, to the study of which he had particularly dedicated himself. After his return he was accustomed to visit different Jewish universities and academies, and after disputing with the professors upon various questions, to throw down secretly, the decisions upon them extracted from his collections, but without the name of the author. From these papers a *Gloss upon the Talmud* was formed, which bears his name. He also composed a *Commentary on the Gemara*, which has been considered so valuable, as to render him deserving of the title of the *Prince of Commentators*. He died A. D. 1180, in the 75th year of his age, at Troyes, from whence his body was conveyed to Bohemia, and buried in the city of Prague.[91]

(91) Relandi Analect. Rab. *Vit. Cel. Rab.* pp. 59—69.
Basnage, *ut sup.*

CHAPTER XI.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Council of Toulouse. De Voragine. Italian and French Versions. German and Icelandic Versions. Grosseteste. Roger Bacon. Libraries. Scarcity of Bibles. Stationarii. MSS. of Scriptures. Expulsion of Jews. Biblical Pursuits. Division of the Sacred Text into Chapters. Steph. Langton. H. de S. Caro. Academical and Monastic Literature. Jews. Louis IX.

THE Century on which we are now entering is chiefly famed for the growing celebrity of the Aristotelian philosophy; a philosophy which furnished the polemical disputant with weapons to wage an endless warfare with his opponents, and served to confound, rather than to enlighten and convince, the controversial combatants. We must not, therefore, expect to meet with many Biblical students, or to find the Scriptures in general circulation. On the contrary, the prevalent disposition of the Roman hierarchy being ambition, measures were taken to prevent the laity from the indiscriminate perusal of the Word of God, and traditions, legends, and decrees, were substituted in its stead.

The infamous council of Toulouse, held in the year 1229, by Romanus, cardinal of St. Angelo, and the pope's legate, formed the FIRST COURTS OF INQUISITION, and published the FIRST CANON WHICH FORBADE THE SCRIPTURES TO THE LAITY. Innocent III. about the commencement of this century, had commissioned certain Cistercian monks to denounce heretics to the civil magistrate, to be corporally punished; and DOMINIC, the celebrated Spaniard, founder of the order of Dominicans, or Preach-

ing Friars, had afterwards received a similar commission: but it was in the council of Toulouse that the inquisition received its designation, by the decree, for the erection in every city of a *Council of Inquisitors, consisting of one priest and three laymen.*[1] In 1233, Gregory IX. nominated two Dominican friars, in Languedoc, the first inquisitors, an office generally entrusted to that order by succeeding pontiffs.

The canon prohibiting the Scriptures is couched in the following terms:

"Prohibemus etiam, ne libros Veteris Testamenti aut Laici permittantur habere: nisi forte Psalterium, vel breviarium pro divinis officis, aut Horas Beatæ Mariæ, aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne præmissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos, arctissime inhibemus."[2]

"We also forbid the laity to possess any of the books of the Old or New Testament; except perhaps, some one out of devotion wishes to have the Psalter or Breviary for the divine offices, or the Hours of the Blessed Virgin. But we strictly forbid them having any of these books translated into the vulgar tongue."

A policy similar to this of the church of Rome, is still pursued by the idolatrous worshippers of *Brama*, in Hindostan, as it was in past ages by the priests of Egypt, the idolaters of Rome, and many of the ancient heretical sects among the Christians; for none but the *Bramins*, or Sacred Tribe, may read the VEDAS, or Holy books; and none but the Khatries, or military men, may hear them read; while to the other two more populous castes or tribes, the *Bhyse*, and the *Sudra*, or merchants and husbandmen, the SASTRAS only, or Commentaries upon the Vedas, are accessible. This interdiction is also extended to the

(1) Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. III. p. 269.
Butler's Lives, VIII. Aug. 4.
Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, II. Liv. 24. ch. ix. p. 1429, Amsterdam, 1629, fol.

(2) Labbei Sacro-Sancta Concilia, II. pt. i. p. 430.

RAMAYANA, a sacred poem, which is so highly venerated, that the *Sudras* are not permitted to read it. At the end of the first section of it is a promise of benefits to those who duly read, or hear it; "a *Brahman* reading it acquires learning and eloquence; a *Kshettria* will become a monarch; a *Vaysia* will obtain vast commercial profits; and a *Sudra hearing* it will become great."[3]

The nefarious attempt of the council of Toulouse was happily, however, only partial in its influence; vernacular translations were in some instances made into different languages, and individuals amongst the laity continued to read such portions of the Scriptures as the rarity of copies, or the poverty of their circumstances, permitted them to possess. Sixtus Senensis, in his *Bibliotheca Sancta*, says that JAMES DE VORAGINE, archbishop of Genoa, and author of a history of that republic, translated the Old and New Testament into the ITALIAN, with diligence and fidelity. And Father Simon speaks of this translation of Voragine, as the oldest in the Italian tongue, and remarks that the Jesuit Possevin objects to it as being inaccurate, but that by others it has been highly esteemed; the editor of his "Sermons" also states him to have been the *first* who translated the whole Bible into the Italian language. Le Long is, however, inclined to question the existence of such a version, and offers as his reasons, the silence of Antoninus, Trithemius, Castillus, and Voragine himself in his *History of Genoa*; and the information of Muratori, who had consulted the celebrated Magliabechi, that no copy of the Scriptures with the name of VORAGINE in the title was to be met with in the libraries of Rome or Florence, Modena or Milan: but as we do not think that the silence of the authors mentioned by Le Long is sufficient to oppose to the positive

(3) Moor's Hindu Pantheon, p. 189. Lond. 1810, 4to.
Wrangham's Sermon on the Translation of the Scriptures into the Oriental Languages, p. 37. note. Camb, 1807.
Usserii Hist. Dogmat, cap. ix.

evidence of such Biblical critics as Sixtus Senensis and Simon; and as we can easily suppose that the author of a history of the Genoese Republic might have been the translator of the Bible, without introducing the notice of it in his historical work; and since it is well known that many of the ancient translators of the Scriptures never affixed their names to their translations, we hesitate to blot *De Voragine* out of the list of translators of the Bible. It must nevertheless be acknowledged that F. Simon, in another of his works, conjectures that the archbishop only published an Italian translation of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, which was then very much esteemed, and read more frequently than the text of the Bible.[4]

JAMES DE VORAGINE, or Voraigne, was a native of Voragine, a town on the sea coast, not far from Genoa. He was celebrated for various and extensive reading, for eloquence in declamation, and elegance in writing, especially in his native tongue. Studious in the works of the Fathers, he is said to have committed to memory nearly the whole of the writings of Augustin. As a writer of history, he attained at least to mediocrity; and as a Biblical scholar, secured the praise of succeeding critics. Agreeably to the practice of the age in which he lived, he employed a portion of his leisure hours in the compilation of his famous GOLDEN LEGEND, or Lives of the Saints, in which he unfortunately studied entertainment at the expense of credibility, and, "in imitation of Livy, often made the martyrs speak his own language." He was a friar of the Order of St. Dominic, and archbishop of Genoa. He died in 1298.

Besides the works already mentioned, he was the

(4) Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iv.
Simon, Histoire Critique du V. T. *Bibles en Langue Vulgaire.* p. 595, 4to.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. cap. iv. Art. 2. p. 353, Paris, 1723.
Simon's Critical Hist. of Versions of N. T. pt. ii. ch. xl. p. 335.

author of Latin *Sermons for all the Sundays and Festivals in the year*, and of 160 Sermons in Latin, entitled *Mariale*, on the titles and virtues of the Blessed Virgin, alphabetically arranged; all edited by Rudolph Clutius, B. D. a Dominican; and printed by Pet. Cholin, at Mentz, 1616, 4to. He wrote also in defence of the Dominican order; and published a book *De Opusculis D. Augustini*.[5]

A FRENCH version of the Bible is ascribed to GUIARS DES MOULINS, canon of St. Peter's of Aire, who flourished in this century, but, as we have already seen, (p. 393,) it is probable that it was merely a translation of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*.

The *Albigenses*, who inhabited some parts of SPAIN, were probably the authors of certain SPANISH versions, interdicted by James I. king of Arragon, who died in 1276; and who, by a law which he passed, ordered, that "no one should possess the books of the Old or New Testament in the ROMANCE, or vulgar tongue; and that whoever possessed any of them, and did not bring them to the bishop of the place, in order to be *burned*, should be considered as suspected of heresy, whether they were of the clergy or laity."[6] Towards the close of this century, however, Alphonsus the Wise, king of Castile, acted with more pious liberality, by procuring a translation of the Bible into the CASTILIAN dialect, and rendering it accessible to the most illiterate. This was about A. D. 1280.[7]

In the Imperial Library, at Vienna, there is a quarto MS. on parchment, containing fragments of the Old and New Testament, in the old GERMAN tongue, chiefly in verse, and written as early as A. D. 1210. Goldastus, in his *Rerum Alimannicarum Scriptorum*, notices a most elegant Paraphrase of the Old Testament, in GERMAN verse,

(5) Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iv. Le Long, *ut sup.*
Jacobi de Voragine Sermones Aurei. Mogunt. 1616, 4to.

(6) Du Cange, Glossar. v. *Romancium.*
Calmet, Dict. de la Bible, *Bibles Espagnoles.*

(7) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. p. 361.

written at the request of the Emperor Conrad IV. by RODOLPH AB EMS, about A. D. 1260.[8]

The following extract from Petrus Undalensis, preserved by Arngrim, in his *Specimen Islandiæ Historicum*, affords reason to believe that an ICELANDIC version of the Scriptures existed in the thirteenth century, among a people who cultivated literature and science, at a period when many other parts of Europe were sunk in lethargy, and buried in monkish ignorance:

"En Welburdig Norsk Mand, Erick Brockenhuss, som heden vved Anno 1567. haffde Mandals leen i Befalinngh sagde vvdi Sandhed, att haffne seet, den gandske Bibel vvdsett paa Islendske maal, skreffnen for 300. Aar seden, och, den forste Bogstaff i hver Capittel vvaar forgylltt, &c."

By which we learn, that Eric Brockenhusius, governor of Mandale, in Norway, asserted, that in the year 1567, he saw a copy of the Bible in the Icelandic tongue, which had been translated three hundred years previous to that date; and that the initial letters of the chapters were embellished with gold.—The probability of an attempt having been made about that time to communicate some knowledge of the Scriptures, in the vernacular idiom, is corroborated by the Rev. Dr. Ebenezer Henderson, in the *Report* of his visit to that island in 1814, for the purpose of carrying into effect the plans of the British and Foreign Bible Society. "Wherever I came," says he, "the people received me with open arms, and complained sadly of the dearth of the Scriptures. In the parish of Kalfafell, which contains seventy souls, I found only one Bible, besides that belonging to the church: and, what is remarkable, in the parish of Thyckvabæ Abbey, where, *about the middle of the thirteenth century, the first attempt was made to translate the Scriptures into the vernacular language*, not a single copy was found to exist at the present day!" In his subsequent, and very interesting pub-

(8) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, p. 377. Usserii Hist. Dogmat. p. 152.

lication, entitled "Iceland, or a Journal of a residence in that Island," he has favoured the public with an historical view of Icelandic Translations, in which he remarks, that the book which Brockenhusius saw, was, most probably, "a copy of the famous work entitled 'STIORN,' which was composed about the middle of the thirteenth century, by Brandr Jonson, at that time abbot of *Thyckvabœ* monastery, in the eastern quarter of Iceland, and afterwards bishop of *Holum*." This work, which was written in 1255, by order of King Magnus Haconson, who rendered himself famous by reducing the different books of Norwegian law to one grand code, contains a view of the Sacred History from the *Creation*, to the *Captivity* of the Jewish kings. In many places, a literal version is given of the Vulgate text; in others, the Sacred History is paraphrased, and interspersed with legendary tales and fanciful interpretations; and in some, nothing more is exhibited than a brief compendium of the contents of the Scripture accounts. The interpretations of the text are mostly taken from the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor; though considerable use is made of the *Speculum Historiale*, and the writings of the Fathers. Dr. Henderson adds, "From the few documents that have been handed down to us, relative to the state of Sacred Literature in Iceland, during the reign of superstition, it would appear that copies even of the Vulgate were by no means common; and the learned Bishop Jonson supposes, *(Hist. Eccles. Island.* tom. II. p. 183,) even that in many instances in which mention is made of the Holy Book *(helga boc)* being used in the administration of oaths, nothing more is meant than an image or representation of the Gospels cut in wood, and painted or cast in a mould; relics of which were still found in his time in the cathedral of *Skalhollt*. The *Psalms of David* in Latin, however, were more frequently to be met with; and such as were distinguishingly strict in their devotions, made conscience of repeating a third part

of the Psalter daily. The only attempt that was made to communicate the knowledge of the Divine oracles to others, seems to have been owing to the zeal of Thorlak Runolfson, who lived in the twelfth century, and of whom it is said in the Hungurvaka, that 'he read lectures on the Sacred Scriptures;' but whether these lectures were public, and in the vernacular language, or merely delivered to such as were designed for the priesthood, cannot now be ascertained."[9]

In the NETHERLANDS, the Waldenses turned the Scriptures into LOW-DUTCH rhymes, according to the custom of those ages, and in imitation of those of the old Teutons, or Germans, who used to record their most memorable affairs in verse. Their reasons for this we shall give in their own words: "Dat daer in was groote nutschap; no boerte, no fabulen, no truffe, no falserde; mer were woerden. Dat hier endaer wel was een herde coerste, mer dat het pit ende die soethit van goet en selicheit der in wel was te bekinnen." "That there was great advantage in it," (the Bible) "no jests, no fables, no trifles, no deceits, but the words of truth. That indeed there was here and there a hard crust. But the marrow and sweetness of what was good and holy, might be easily discovered in it."[10]

It has been questioned, and apparently with justice, whether any translation of the *whole Bible* into ENGLISH, took place during this century, for although Dr. Thomas James, in his treatise "*Of the Corruption of the Scripture*," supposes that three of the MS. Bibles preserved in the different libraries of Oxford, are of this age; they are, with more probability, referred by other critics to a later date. Partial translations of the Bible, indeed, were

(9) Henderson's Iceland, II. Append. I. p. 252—261. Edin. 1818, 8vo. Arngrim, Specimen Islandiæ Historicum, pt. ii. Memb. 2. p. 128. Amstel. 1643, 4to.
Twelfth Report of Brit. and For. Bible Society, p. 204.

(10) Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation, I. B. i. p. 14. Lond. 1720, fol.

made about this time, "but they were translations of only *some parts* of the OLD TESTAMENT, as the PSALTER, the CHURCH-LESSONS and HYMNS, and of the NEW TESTAMENT, or rather of *some of the books of it*, and seem not to have been published, but made only for the translator's own use."[11] It deserves, however, to be noticed, that the learned Dr. A. Clarke, in the *General Preface to his Commentary*, gives several extracts from a *glossed* translation in his possession, which he says was "written, probably, before the time of Wicliff:" and that Sir William Thoresby, who was archbishop of York in the fourteenth century, caused a treatise to be drawn up in English, by a clergyman, of the name of Garryk, "in the whiche were conteyned the artycles of belefe, the vii. dedly sines, the vii. workes of marcy, the x. commaundements, and sent them in small pagyantes to the common people, to lerne it;" and in this treatise remarks, that, "a man of London, whose name was MYRINGE, had a BYBLE in ENGLYSHE of Northern speche whiche was sene of many men, and it seemed to be C. yeres old."[12]

But although it is not ascertained whether any complete translation of the whole Bible was made or not, it is certain that there were some few eminent men, who flourished at this period in England, and were strenuous advocates for the spread of Scriptural knowledge. Bishop Grosseteste, and Roger Bacon, in particular, merited the gratitude of the age in which they lived, by their opposition to papal corruptions, and their promotion of Biblical and scientific acquirements.

ROBERT GROSSETESTE, or GROSTHEAD, seems to have been a person of obscure parentage, and born about the year 1175, at Stradbrook, in Suffolk. After having stu-

(11) Lewis's Hist. of English Translations, p. 17. Lond. 1739, 8vo.
James's Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, &c, pt. ii, p, 74, Lond. 1611, 4to.
Baber's Historical Account of Saxon & English Versions, p. lxviii.

(12) Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, III. pp. 257, 258.

died at Oxford, where he laid the foundation of his knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and of the Aristotelian philosophy, he went to Paris, and there perfected his acquaintance with the sacred tongues, and became a perfect master of the French. Here also he acquired those stores of various learning, which not only rendered him one of the first theologians and philosophers of the age, but subjected him to the calumny of some of his ignorant contemporaries, who accused him of necromancy, or magic.

In 1221, the Dominicans, who, from the colour of their upper garment, were called *Black Friars*, landed in this country; and within three years were followed by the Franciscans, or *Grey Friars*. The university of Oxford was their favourite station, where they soon opened their schools, and Grosseteste, from his partiality to the Franciscans, was induced to become their first lecturer. A curious anecdote is related of him and the superior of the order: "The superior, who was himself void of learning, but who gloried in the talents of his professor, was anxious to ascertain, if possible, what progress the scholars had made, and he accordingly entered the school one day, as they were rehearsing their questions; when he found to his astonishment, that the subject before them was, Whether there be a God? "Alas! Alas!" exclaimed the good man, "ignorant simplicity is daily gaining heaven; while these learned disputants are arguing about the existence of heaven's Master." After this he is said to have become solicitous to turn their minds to more substantial studies.[13]

The exalted virtues and reputation of our divine procured him the see of Lincoln, to which he was called in 1235. After his election, he religiously devoted himself to the duties of his office, and adopted vigorous measures for the reformation of abuses; and for the instruction of the priests and people of his diocese, who were lamentably

(13) Berington's Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages, B. v. p. 364.

deficient in the first rudiments of Christian knowledge. He went through the several archdeaconries and deaneries, called the clergy and people together, preached to the clergy, and caused some friar of the Dominican, or Franciscan order, to deliver lectures to the people, heard their confessions, and confirmed the children. He enforced the duties of the clerical vocation by authoritative injunctions, by personal advice, and by a treatise written expressly "On the Pastoral Care." One of his Constitutions enjoins, "That the priests shall teach their parishioners the *Decalogue;*" another commands "the rectors of churches, and parish priests, diligently to instruct the youth of their respective parishes, so that they may be able to say the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed*, and the *Salutation of the Blessed Virgin;*" and adds, "Because it is reported that many adults are ignorant of these things, we enjoin, that when the laity come to confession, they be examined, whether they know them or not; and if needful, that they be taught them by the priests." In his "Treatise on the Pastoral Care," he exhorts the priest diligently to preach the Word of God, which is "the food of the soul;" and then proceeds, "If any one say, he knows not how, the proper remedy is for him to resign his benefice; nevertheless I can tell him of a better remedy: let every such person or priest thoroughly learn, every week, the text alone, (i. e. without gloss or comment,) of the Gospel-lesson appointed for the following Sunday, that he may be, at least, able to repeat the history itself, to the people. And this, I say, that if he understand Latin, and will pursue this practice, regularly every week, he will, most assuredly, profit by it greatly. But, if he be ignorant of Latin, let him go to some one near him, who will cheerfully explain it to him, and by this means enable him also to teach his flock. Thus, in one year, he may repeat the Epistles for the Festivals; and in another the "Lives of the

Saints."* To the regents in theology, in the university of Oxford, he wrote a pathetic letter, earnestly intreating them to lay the foundation of theological learning in the study of the Scriptures; and to devote the morning-hours to lectures on the Old and New Testament. It appears also by the following passage, quoted from his writings by the author of an early English translation of the Bible, that he was a decided friend to vernacular translations of the Scriptures; "Deus voluit, ut plures interpretes S. Scripturam transferrent, et diversæ Translationes in ecclesiâ essent; idcirco ut quod unus obscuriùs dixerat, alter manifestiùs redderet."(14) "It is the will of God, that the Holy Scriptures should be translated by many translators, and that there should be different translations in the church, so that what is obscurely expressed by one, may be more perspicuously translated by another."

He abolished the *Feast of Asses*, which used to be annually celebrated in Lincoln cathedral, on the feast of the Circumcision; miracle-plays; and the Maii *Inductio*, or ceremonies practised on the first of May.† He also forbade the archdeacons of his diocese to permit *Scot-Ales*‡

* "The Legends, or Lives of the Saints were, formerly, constantly read in the churches."

(14) Whartoni Auctarium Hist. Dogmat. cap. ii. pp. 416—418. Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, VIII. B. iv. ch. iv. p. 181. Gratii Fascic. II. Ep. 123. pp. 392. 410.

† It was an ancient custom for the priest and people of country villages, to go in procession to some adjoining wood, on a *May-day* morning, and return in a kind of triumph, with a May-pole, boughs, flowers, garlands, and other tokens of the spring. This May-game, or rejoicing at the coming of spring, and termed *Maii Inductio*, was long observed, and traces of it still continue in some parts of England. It was derived from the heathen feast of *Flora*, the goddess of fruits and flowers, celebrated with all manner of obscenity and lewdness, on the four last days of April, and the first of *May*. Brand's *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, ch. xxv. p. 283, &c. Lond. 1810, 8vo. Tilliot, *Memoires pour servir a l' histoire de la Fete des Foux*, pp. 26—32. Lausanne et Geneve, 1751, 12mo.

‡ *Scot-Ales*. The nature of these compotations will be best understood by the two following constitutions; the first by Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1236; the latter by Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1367. See Johnson's *Collection of*

in their chapters and synods, and other *Ludi*, or games and pastimes on holidays.[15]

He was an universal scholar, and no less conversant in polite letters, than in the most abstruse sciences. The Greek language he cultivated and patronised beyond most of his contemporaries. He translated Dionysius the Areopagite, and Damascenus, into Latin. He was also the author of the first Latin translation of the Greek Lexicon of Suidas, at that time almost a recent compilation. He promoted John of Basingstoke, to the archdeaconry of Leicester, chiefly because he was a Greek scholar, and possessed many Greek MSS. which he is said to have brought from Athens to England; and he entertained, as a domestic in his palace, Nicholas, chaplain of the abbot of Saint Alban's, surnamed *Græcus*, from his uncommon proficiency in Greek. With the assistance of Nicholas, he translated from the Greek into Latin, "*The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which had been discovered at Athens, by Archdeacon Basingstoke, and was said to have been translated out of Hebrew into Greek, by Chrysostom. This work, from the low state of

Ecclesiastical Laws, II. *sub. ann.*

"6. We wholly forbid Clergymen the ill practice, by which all that drink together are obliged to equal draughts, and he carries away the credit, who hath made most drunk, and taken off the largest cups: therefore we forbid all forcing to drink: let him that is culpable be suspended from office, and benefice, according to the statutes of the council" (of Lateran, 1216, ch. xv.) "unless, upon admonition from his superior, he make competent satisfaction. We forbid the publication of *Scot-Ales* to be made by priests. If any priest, or clerk, do this, or be present at *Scot-Ales*, let him be canonically punished."

"2. —When a multitude of men, exceeding ten in number, stay long together in the same house for drinking sake, we declare these to be common *drinking bouts*. But we mean not to comprehend travellers, and strangers, and such as meet, (though in taverns) at fairs and markets, under this prohibition. Detesting those common drinking bouts, which, by a change of name, they call *Charity Scot-Ales*, we charge that the authors of such drinking bouts, and they who publicly meet at them; be publicly solemnly denounced excommunicate, till they have made competent satisfaction for it, and have merited the benefit of absolution." See also Du Cange, *Glossar.* v. "Scotallum."

(15) Gratii Fascicul. II. Ep. 22. 107. pp. 314. 382. 411, 412.

criticism at that period, was regarded as an invaluable treasure, and the translator was supposed to have enriched Europe with the knowledge of a valuable monument of sacred antiquity. Modern critics have exposed its defects, and placed it in the list of spurious writings, except the eccentric Whiston, who attempted to defend it, and published an English translation of it in his collection of *Authentic Records belonging to the Old and New Testament.*[16]

Several of the bishop's popular works are in French, particularly his metrical compositions, which display a fondness for the metre and music of the French minstrels. His "MANUEL DE PECHE, or MANUAL OF SIN," is a long work, and treats of the decalogue, and the seven deadly sins, which are illustrated with many legendary stories. It was translated into English, in 1303, by Robert Manning, or De Brunne, with a design to be sung to the harp at public entertainments. His "CHATEAU D' AMOUR, or CASTLE OF LOVE," is a religious allegory, in which the fundamental articles of Christian belief are represented under the ideas of chivalry. "It has the air of a system of divinity, written by a Troubadour.*" The Poem commences with the following lines, the sentiments of which are excellent, though the language is antiquated;

"Ki pense ben, ben peut dire:
Sanz penser ne poet suffise:
De nul bon oure commencer
Deu nos dont de li penser
De ki, par ki, en ki, sont
Tos les biens ki font en el mond."

They are thus paraphrased, in a translation made, probably, in the reign of Edward I.

That good thinketh, good may do,
And God wol help him thar to:
Ffor nas never good work wrougt
With oute biginninge of good thougt.

(16) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. Diss. 2.
Whiston's Collection of Authentick Records, I. pt. i. pp. 294—443, Lond. 1727, 8vo.

* The *Troubadours* were French minstrels or poets, who chiefly flourished in Provence, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Ne never was wrougt non vuel[a] thyng
That vuel thougt nas the biginnyng.
God ffuder, and sone and holigoste
That alle thing on eorthe sixt[b] and wost,
That one God art and thrillihod,[c]
And threo persones in one hod,[d]
Withouten end and biginninge,
To whom we ougten over alle thinge
Worschepe him with trewe love,
That kineworthe king art us above,
In whom, of whom, thorw whom beoth,
Alle the good schipes that we hire i seoth
He leve us thenche and worchen so,
That he us schylde from vre fo." [17]

He also began a COMMENT ON THE PSALTER, though he did not live to finish it.[17] A list of his principal works is given in Cave's *Historia Litteraria*, Sæc. xiii. pp. 716, 717. Lond. 1688.

Grosseteste was the resolute opposer of the extortionary system of the Roman court, which was at no time more severely felt; and the disgust he entertained at the conduct of the pope, who attempted to introduce his Italian minions into the most opulent benefices, was discovered in the contempt with which he treated the orders of the pontiff. Often, he would indignantly cast the papal bulls out of his hands, and absolutely refuse to comply with them, saying, that he should be the friend of Satan, if he should commit the care of souls to foreigners. He even refused to appoint the nephew of Innocent himself, to a canonry, in the cathedral of Lincoln, which so exasperated the pontiff, that he violently exclaimed, "who is this old dotard who dares to judge my actions? By Peter and Paul, if I were not restrained by my generosity, I would make him an example, and a spectacle to all mankind. Is not the king of England

(a) Well, good. (b.) highest. This is the explanation of the term as given by Warton; but there is probably an error in the first letter, and that the word ought to be *fixt*, settled, placed, as the following word *wost*, is evidently from the old verd *weet*, to know. Ed.
(c.) Trinity. (d.) unity.
(17) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. pp. 79, 80.

my vassal and my slave? And, if I gave the word, would he not throw him into prison, and load him with infamy and disgrace?" The cardinals, however, endeavoured to appease his resentment, by representations of his own danger, and the great reputation of the bishop. But the fury of Innocent was not to be allayed, and he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Grosseteste, and appointed Albert, one of his nuncios, to the bishopric of Lincoln. The high character of the bishop rendered the thunder of the Vatican harmless, the pope's commands were universally neglected, and the bishop continued in the quiet possession of his dignity.[18]

This excellent dignitary of the church died at Buckden, in Huntingdonshire, October 9th, 1253.

Roger Bacon, the friend and contemporary of Grosseteste, was born at Ilchester, in Somersetshire, in the year 1214. After finishing the elementary studies of grammar and logic, at Oxford, he visited Paris, to attend upon the lectures of the celebrated professors of that university. Here he sedulously applied himself to the knowledge of languages, history, jurisprudence, the mathematics, and medicine, completing the whole by the study of theology. The information which he could not obtain from living preceptors, he dug, with indefatigable industry, out of the mines of Grecian and Arabian learning. About the year 1240, having been admitted to the degree of Doctor, he returned to England, and assumed the Franciscan habit, and in the retirement of his cell, prosecuted his studies with increasing ardour. Being chosen to deliver lectures to the university of Oxford, he expended immense sums in books, and other means of perfecting his knowledge and discoveries. "In *twenty* years," says he, "during which I have been particularly engaged in the study of wisdom, neglecting all vulgar

(18) Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ, IV. pp. 48. 51, 52. Fox's Actes and Monuments, I. pp. 405—410. Lond. 1570, fol.

attentions to money, I have expended more than *two thousand pounds* in books of secrets, in a variety of experiments, and in languages, and instruments, and tables, and other means of obtaining the friendship of the wise, and of instructing the minds of my hearers."[19] An almost incredible sum, when the income of a curate was but five marks, or £3. 6. 8; and the salary of a judge but £40![20] and consequently equal in efficacy to £30,000 of our money at present. We are, indeed, at a loss which to applaud most, his generous friends and patrons, who enabled him to spend so large a sum; or the disinterestedness of the lecturer himself, who lost sight of his own emolument in the desire for the improvement of others. Seldom, however, has money been better employed; for in the course of his experiments, he is said to have made a greater number of useful and surprising discoveries in geometry, astronomy, physics, optics, mechanics, and chemistry, than ever were made by one man, in an equal space of time. Among the discoveries of this luminary of his age, are enumerated,—the discovery of the exact length of the solar year, and a method of correcting all the errors in the calendar; of the art of making reading-glasses, the camera obscura, microscopes, telescopes, and various other mathematical and astronomical instruments; of the composition of gunpowder, and the nature of phosphorus; the method of making elixirs, tinctures, solutions, and of performing many other chemical operations; of the art of combining and employing the mechanical powers in the construction of machines capable of producing the most extraordinary effects; and of various remedies in the science of medicine.[21]

(19) Leland. Coll. iii. 333. cited in Whitaker's Cathedral of Cornwall, vol. II. ch. vii. sec. iii. p. 335.

(20) Chronicon Preciosum, pp. 131. 155, 156. Lond. 1707, 8vo.

(21) Henry's History of Great Britain, VIII. B. iv. ch. iv. sec. 2. pp. 217—220.
Enfield's Hist. of Philosophy, II. B. vii. ch. iii. pp. 376—378.

But however astonishing his attainments were as a natural philosopher, it is chiefly as a divine and a promoter of Biblical knowledge, that he at present claims our regard; and it will with pleasure be discovered, that ardent as were his scientific pursuits, they not only did not prevent his study of the Scriptures, but were hallowed by their application to the sacred purposes of religion. In a treatise addressed to Pope Clement, he shews the necessity of understanding the Greek, and the Oriental languages, in order to ascertain the true sense and reading of the Scriptures, which he says, were become miserably corrupted, chiefly through the profound ignorance of transcribers, and pseudo-critics, who frequently corrupted them by attempting injudiciously to correct them. He also enters into a learned discussion of the translations made use of in the Greek and Roman churches, and particularly examines the translations of Jerom; and remarks, that the one generally adopted by the Latins, was one of those which were executed by Jerom, and that it had obtained universal sanction and use, on account of its accuracy and perspicuity: "Cujus editione generaliter omnes ecclesiæ utuntur, pro eo quod veracior sit in sententiis, et clarior in verbis." He farther inveighs against the practice of theological lecturers, who preferred the philosophy of the schoolmen, or followers of Aristotle, to the plain truths of Scripture; and read lectures on the *Sentences*,* in preference to the *Bible*, as one of the causes of general indifference to Biblical literature.[22]

In another work, addressed to the same pontiff, and designed to obtain the papal sanction to his endeavours

* Peter Lombard, a French divine of the twelfth century, wrote a theological system, which he entitled *Magister Sententiarum*, "The Master of Sentences," in which he illustrated the doctrines of the church by sentences collected from the Fathers, with select questions for disputation; a work which obtained universal authority in the theological schools, and upon which innumerable commentaries were written.

(22) Hody, De Bibliorum Text. Orig. lib. iii. pt. ii. ch. xi. pp. 419—428.

for a more general acquaintance with the original languages of the Sacred volume, he undertakes to prove that the rudiments of all kinds of knowledge are to be found in the Scriptures; and that all the sciences may be rendered subservient to their illustration and explanation; that all the evils then existing under Christian governments arose from ignorance of the Scriptures; and in particular from the example and conduct of princes and prelates. "Causa namque quare fideles non convertuntur ad fidem, est quia Principes et Prelati eorum tenent eos in errore, et sic est in omni statu. Scilicet, infinitus est defectus in eis qui præsunt nunc temporis studio et vitâ: et ideo est quod subjecta multitudo errat in infinitis. (c. xxviii. *De Laude Sacræ Scripturæ.)* He maintains the necessity of an acquaintance with the Hebrew and Greek, in order accurately to understand the Sacred Writings, observing that the best translators, and even Jerom himself, have sometimes erred; and that during the preceding *twenty years*, the major part of Biblical MSS. had been depraved by scribes and sciolists, every one correcting according to his pleasure, and altering what he did not understand, a practice not allowed even in common writings: "quod quilibet corrigat pro suâ voluntate, et quilibet mutat quod non intelligit; quod non licet facere in libris poetarum." On this subject, of acquiring a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, he carries his ideas so far as to suppose that Christians in general ought to learn them; and especially, as they are so easy of attainment. For he affirms, that, by the universal grammar which he has invented, a person may learn the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Arabic, in a few days. "I am certain," says he, "that in less than three days,* I could teach any person of a diligent habit, and

* It is probable that our learned author has adopted a definite term for an indefinite one, expressive of a very short time; still we cannot but regret that we are not in possession of his mode of instruction.

retentive memory, who would be conformable to certain rules, to read Hebrew, and understand whatever wise and holy men have formerly said in explanation of the Sacred text; or whatever relates to its correction and explanation; and in three days more to understand the Greek, so as not only to be able to read and understand what relates to theology, but whatever has been written concerning philosophy, and the Latin tongue." To the objection, that even if these languages were generally attained, common Christians would nevertheless mistake the sense of Scripture, he replies, that the fear is groundless; but, to prevent all danger, he intends to accompany his work with a manual, or introduction. He proceeds earnestly to intreat Clement, not to withhold his sanction from a measure so pregnant with numerous and great benefits, as the general knowledge of the original languages of Holy Writ, but to promote it by every mild and persuasive method; and concludes by predicting the advantages that will result from the adoption of his plans:—the principal of these are, that the *Divine Office*, or prayers of the church, will be then understood by all Christians; that the *Divine Law* being more generally known, it will not be so easily corrupted; that Christians being instructed in the Sacred Oracles, will be better prepared to resist, with firmness, the future dangers of antichrist; and that the law of faith, and the rule of life, will be drawn from a pure and unpolluted source; to which may be added the conversion of infidels and schismatics, and the condemnation of those who cannot be converted:—every way, therefore, the languages are useful; every way, the knowledge of the Scriptures is necessary.[23]

The extraordinary abilities of our learned friar gained him the appellation of the *Wonderful Doctor*, whilst in

(23) Whartoni Auctarium Hist. Dogmat. J. Usserii, pp. 420—424. See also Baconi Opus Majus, a Jebb. Lond. 1733. fo. *& in Præfat.*

their stupid admiration they ascribed his inventions to the black art. His knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages was regarded as the medium of intercourse with infernal spirits; and the suspicion was confirmed by the circles and triangles of his mathematical productions. The brethren of his order refused to admit his works into their libraries, and the general of the order confined him to his cell, and prohibited him from sending any of his writings out of his monastery, except to the pope. He languished in confinement for several years, till Clement IV. to whom he had sent a copy of his *Opus Majus*, in 1266, obtained some mitigation of his sufferings, if not his entire liberty. But, on pretence of some suspicious novelties in his works, he was again imprisoned by Jerom d' Ascoli, in 1278. This second imprisonment continued for about eleven or twelve years, when Jerom, who had occasioned his condemnation, being raised to the pontifical chair, by the name of Nicholas IV. was prevailed upon, by several noblemen, to release him from his confinement. Though now old and infirm, his love of science was unabated, and he continued to prosecute his studies, by polishing his former works, and composing new ones, till death terminated his sufferings and labours about A. D. 1292.[24]

In an age when incarceration and contempt were the recompense of laborious research and extensive learning, it would be absurd to expect any thing but ignorance and the most puerile pursuits. The following method of attempting to cure the epilepsy, recommended by the most famous physicians of those times, correctly delineates the manners of the age, and fully proves the deplorable state of science in general. "Because there are many children and others afflicted with the epilepsy, who cannot take medicines," says John de Gaddesden, in his *Medical Rose*, "let the

(24) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, VIII. B. iv. ch. iv. p. 218.

following experiment be tried, which is recommended by Constantine, Walter, Bernard, Gilbert, and others, which I have found to be effectual, whether the patient was a demoniac, a lunatic, or an epileptic. When the patient and his parents have fasted three days, let them conduct him to a church. If he be of a proper age, and in his right senses, let him confess. Then let him hear mass on Friday, during the fast of *quatuor temporum*," (viz. March, June, September, or December,) "and also on Saturday. On Sunday, let a good and religious priest read over the head of the patient, in the church, the Gospel which is read in September, in the time of vintage, after the feast of the holy cross. After this let the priest write the same Gospel devoutly; and let the patient wear it about his neck, and he shall be cured. The Gospel is,—This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting."[25]

The private libraries of many abbots afford another proof of the depressed and neglected state of Sacred Literature. Symon Gunton, in his *History of the Church of Peterburgh*,* has, with considerable labour, collected biographical notices of many of the abbots, and presented the reader with lists of the books belonging to them. The following are selected from them:

Robertus De Lindesey was monk and sacristan of Burgh, and paved his way to the abbacy, by his liberality towards the church; "for whereas the windows were before only stuffed with *straw* to keeep out the weather, he beautified above thirty of them with glasses; and his example brought the rest by degrees to the like perfection." Having been abbot seven years, he died October 25th. 1222. "He was not very rich in books, his library consisted only of these few:

Numerale Magistri. W. de Montibus, cum aliis rebus. Tropi Magistri Petri cum diversis summis. Sententiæ Petri Pretanensis. Psal-

(25) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, B. iv. ch. iv. pp. 208, 209.

* Commonly written "Peterborough."

TERIUM GLOSSATUM. Aurora.* PSALTERIUM NON GLOSSATUM. Historiale."[26]

ALEXANDER DE HOLDERNESSE. He was first a monk, then prior, and lastly abbot. Having been abbot four years he died, November 20th. 1226. "These were his books.

PSALTERIUM. CONCORDANTIÆ UTRIUSQ; TEST. Claustrum Animæ. Opus alterum quod perfecit Rogerus de Helpston. Aurora. Pœnitentiale. Tria Breviaria. Concilium Lateranensi cum aliis rebus. Corrogationes Promethei. Missale."[27]

MARTINUS DE RAMSEY was a monk of Peterborough, and elected abbot after the death of Alexander. He died after being abbot six years. "His library was but thin.

"Missale. Item Missale ad Altare S. Katharinæ. Capitula collecta Evangelica in 2 voluminibus ad magnum Altare." †[28]

WALTERUS DE S. EDMUNDO was first monk, then sacristan, and at length abbot, in 1233. "His library was copious in comparison of his predecessors, consisting of these books:

Decretale. Aurora. Claustrum Animæ. BIBLIA. Hexæmeron S. Cantuariæ versificè. Rabanus de Naturis Rerum, et Interpretationes Hebraicorum nominum in uno volumine. Versus M. W. de Montibus. PSALTERIUM GLOSS. Summa Magistri J. de Cantia de Pœnitentia. Templum Domini cum arte confessionum. Regula S. Benedicti. PSALTERIUM *cum hympnario. Item* DUO PSALTERIA. Duo Missalia. Duo Gradualia. LIBER EVANGELIORUM. Liber Orationum ad magnum altare."‡[29]

WILLIELMUS DE HOTOT, or HOTOFT, being a monk of Peterborough, was chosen abbot, the 6th of February, 1246. "Having been abbot only three years, he surceased.

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* The History of the Bible allegorized in Latin verse by Peter de Riga.

(26) Gunton's Hist. of the Church of Peterburgh, pp. 27. 29. Lond. 1686, fol.

† The *Missal* and *Capitula* seem to have been lent on account of the scarcity of books.

(27) Gunton, p. 29. (28) Gunton, p. 30.

‡ Walter's library was creditable to him, and exhibits, most pleasingly, his love of Biblical Literature;—a Bible, four Psalters, the Four Gospels, and a work on Hebrew names, were a rich treasure possessed by few or none beside!

(29) Gunton, p. 33.

Perhaps he had not time enough to gather more books than these into his library:

Antissiodorensis abbreviatus. Tractatus super Canonem Missæ. Templum Domini cum aliis rebus. Libellus de diversis rebus. Missale ad altare Michaelis." [30]

JOHANNIS DE CALETO. He was elected abbot in 1249. He is said to have been made lord treasurer by the barons. "His secular employments might take off his mind from books, and plead for the poorness of his library." "This was his stock of books, as I find from an ancient MS."

"Flores Evangeliorum. Tractatus de Theologia. Concilium Lateranense. Templum Domini. Testamentum 12 Patriarcharum." [31]

But we should be unjust to the abbots of Peterborough, if we were to suppose them to be more indifferent to literature than their contemporaries. The neglect of learning was nearly universal, and the following instances will evidence how extensively the scarcity of books was experienced. In an inventory of the goods of John de Pontissara, bishop of Winchester, contained in his palace of Wulvesey, all the books which appear are nothing more than *Septemdecem pecie librorum de diversis Scienciis*, "Fragments of seventeen books on different Sciences." This was in the year 1294. The same prelate, in the year 1299, borrowed of his cathedral convent of St. Swithin at Winchester, BIBLIAM BENE GLOSSATAM, that is, THE BIBLE WITH MARGINAL ANNOTATIONS, in two large folio volumes, but gave a bond for due return of the loan, drawn up with great solemnity. A copy of the bond may be seen in the *Dissertation on Learning*, prefixed to the first volume of *Warton's History of English Poetry*. This Bible had been bequeathed by Pontissara's predecessor, Bishop Nicholas de Ely: and in consideration of so important a bequest, and of one hundred marks in money, the monks founded a daily mass for the soul of the

(30) Gunton, pp. 33, 34.
(31) Gunton, pp. 34, 35,

donor. About the year 1225, Roger de Insula, dean of York, gave several LATIN BIBLES to the university of Oxford, with a condition, that the students who perused them should deposit a cautionary pledge. Even the library of that university, before the year 1300, consisted only of a few tracts, chained or kept in chests, in the choir of St. Mary's church.[32] The prices of books were, consequently, excessively high, and almost beyond the reach of the inferior orders of the clergy, at a time when the annual allowance of a scholar of the university was but *Fifty Shillings*.[33] W. de Howton, abbot of Croxton, bequeathed to that abbey, at his death, in 1274, "a BIBLE, in nine tomes, faire written, and excellently well glosed by Solomon, archdeacon of Leicester, and paid for it FIFTIE MARKES sterling," or £33. 6s. 8d.[34] And in a valuation of books bequeathed to Merton College, at Oxford, before the year 1300, a PSALTER WITH GLOSSES, or *marginal annotations*, is valued at *Ten Shillings*; and ST. AUSTIN ON GENESIS, and a CONCORDANTIA, or *Harmony*, are each valued at the same price.[35] Let it also be remembered, that every charge should be multiplied by *fifteen*, to bring it to the average, or value of money at present;[36] and in some instances, the comparative value would be still too low, as in the instance of the labouring men, whose pay, in 1272, was only three half-pence per day, and who must therefore have devoted the earnings of many years to purchase a Bible.[37] Whitaker, in his *History of Craven*, affords the additional information, that towards the close of the thirteenth, and at the commencement of the fourteenth century, the average wages

(32) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. Diss. 2.
(33) Chalmer's Hist. of the University of Oxford, I. p. 6. Oxf. 1810, 8vo.
(34) Stow's Annales, p. 169. Lond. 1615, fol.
(35) Warton, *ubi sup.*
(36) See Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, VI. ch. vi. pp. 302—307; and vol. VIII. ch. vi. p. 352: Whitaker's Hist. of Craven. p. 404.
(37) Dugdale's Warwickshire, quoted in Evang. Mag. 1807, p. 121.

of a man-servant, with meat and clothing, were from three to five shillings only *per annum;* but that reapers were paid two-pence a day; that a sheep sold for a shilling, and thirty quarters of fossil-coal, for seventeen shillings and six-pence.[38] Madox, in his *History of the Exchequer,* says, that in 1240, the building of two arches of London Bridge cost only twenty-five pounds; eight pounds less than the Bible bequeathed to the abbey of Croxton, by abbot W. de Howton![39]

The Booksellers of this period were called STATIONARII, from their *stations,* or shops, a term still in use in the English word *Stationer.* They not only *sold* books, but many of them acquired considerable property by *lending* out books to be read, at exorbitant prices, not in volumes, but in detached parts, according to the estimation in which the author was held. In Paris, the limited trade of these booksellers consisted principally in selling books for those who wished to dispose of them, and furnishing a depository for them whilst on sale. To prevent frauds being practised by these "Stationaires," as they were called, the university framed a law, or regulation, dated Dec. 8th. 1275, by which the booksellers were obliged to take an oath every year, or at the farthest, every two years, or oftener if required, that they would act loyally, and with fidelity in their employment. By the same statute, which was the *first ever passed in the university respecting booksellers,* they were forbidden to purchase, on their own account, the books placed in their hands, until they had been offered to sale for a month; and were enjoined to expose them publicly, immediately on being lodged in their hands, with a label affixed, containing the title and price of the book; it was also further ordered, that this price should be received on behalf of the owner of the books, who should allow a certain

(38) Whitaker's Hist. of Craven, p. 404.

(39) Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer, ch. x. pp. 249, 250. Lond. 1711, fol.

commission to the vender, which was fixed by the university at four deniers *per* livre, according to the price of the book: and if any bookseller committed fraud, he was dismissed from his office, and the masters and scholars were prohibited trading with such persons, under pain of being deprived of all the rights and privileges of the university. Their stalls, or portable shops, were sometimes erected in the market-place;* and at other times in the *Parvis,* or church-porch, where schools were also occasionally kept. Matt. Paris says, that in 1250, a poor clerk of France, was forced to drag on "a starving life in the *Parvis*, keeping a school, and selling petty books;" and the portal at the north end of the cross aisle, in Rouen cathedral, is to this day called *Le Portail des Libraires,* or the porch of the booksellers.[40] These moveable booksellers' shops may appear to us at present as insignificant and unworthy the importance of literary traffic; but at the time of which we are writing, they served the interests of literature, and in an age of barbarous ignorance, promoted knowledge; nor ought we to forget, that in the preceding century, the monks of Cottenham, near Cambridge, were obliged *to hire a barn,* in order to give lectures to the students of that university. To this day markets for *MSS.* are continued in the *East.* Dr. E. D. Clarke, in his *Travels in various Countries, &c.* remarks, "The *bazar* of the booksellers," of *Constantinople,* "does not contain all the works enumerated by *D' Herbelot;* but there is hardly any *Oriental* author, whose writings, if demanded, may not be procured; although every volume offered for sale be MS.

* The Latin term *statio,* sometimes means a *place of public resort:* see Pitisci Lex. Antiq. Roman. *in voce:* sometimes also a *depository.* [Fr. *Entrepos.*] See Crevier, Hist. de l' Univ. de Paris, II. p. 66, Note.

(40) Du Cange, Glossar. v. Stationarii.
Whitaker's Cathedral of Cornwall, I. p. 149.
Berington's Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages, B. v. p. 356.
Crevier, Hist. de l' Université de Paris, II. liv. 3. pp. 66—68. Paris, 1761, 12mo.

The number of shops employed in this way, in that market and elsewhere, amounts to a hundred: each of these contain, upon an average, five hundred volumes; so that no less a number than fifty thousand MSS. *Arabic, Persian*, and *Turkish*, are daily exposed for sale. There are similar MS. markets in all the *Turkish* cities, particularly those of *Aleppo* and of *Cairo*."[41]

Tedious as was the process of transcription, several of the public libraries of Europe contain copies of the whole or parts of the Scriptures, especially the Psalter, written in this century. In a copy of the whole *Latin Bible*, in the British Museum, the name of the transcriber, and the date of the transcript, are thus preserved: "Hunc librum scripsit Willielmus de Hales, Magistro Thome de la Wile, quem vocavit Magister Radulphus de Hehham tunc Cancellarius Sarum: quibus Deus in hoc Sæculo et in futuro propicietur. Amen. Factus fuit Liber anno 1254, ab incarnatione Domini."

Another MS. containing the PROVERBS OF SOLOMON, ECCLESIASTES, CANTICLES, and WISDOM, with Prologues, has the following anathema, not uncommon in ancient MSS. inscribed in the beginning: "Liber De Claustro Roffensi per Johannem Priorem: quem qui inde alienaverit, alienatum celaverit, vel hunc titulum fraudulenter deleverit, Anathema sit. Amen." "This book belongs to the monastery of Rochester (given) by the Prior John; if any one remove it, or conceal it when taken away, or fraudulently deface this inscription, let him be Anathema. Amen."

Le Long, in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, notices several MSS. containing the LATIN BIBLE, written during this century, particularly one transcribed by the Premonstrants in 1263. It was made use of by Joannes Hentenius, in an edition of the Bible printed in 1547; and also by the deputies to the Council of Trent.

(41) Berington, *ut sup.* p. 307.
Dr. E. D. Clarke's Travels, III. pp. 65. 67. Lond. 1817, 8vo.

Godefridus, de Croyland, who was elected abbot of Peterborough, in 1290, or 1299, during his abbacy entertained King Edward I. and also two cardinals, to one of whom, named Gaucilinus, he presented a PSALTER, curiously written with golden letters, but the time when it was transcribed is uncertain.

Among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, is a MS. PSALTER, of this century, which belonged formerly to the church of St. Botolph, and having been taken from thence, was presented to Queen Mary by Ralph Pryne, a grocer of London, as appears by the following lines written in the first leaf.

God saue the most vertuus and nobull Quene Marys gras:
And send her to in Joye the crowne of Eyngland long tyme and spas.
Her ennimys to confunde, and hutterly to deface
And to folo her godly proceydynges God giue us gras:
As euery subyegte ys bounde for her gras to praye
That God may preserve her body from all dangers both nyght and daye:
God save the Quene.
Be me humbull and poor Orytur Rafe Pryne, grocer of Londoun, wyshynge your gras prosperus helthe.[42]

During this century, an important event took place, which, from its intimate connection with Biblical Literature, demands particular notice. This was the expulsion of the *Jews* from England, and the confiscation of their property. From the time of William the Conqueror, the Jews had been permitted to settle in the kingdom; and, notwithstanding the cruelties practised upon them at different times, under various pretences, and the tyrannical exactions they had suffered whenever the government was in want of money, they had spread themselves in vast bodies throughout most of the cities and capital towns in the land. In the reign of William Rufus, some of the Rabbins had been permitted to open a school in the University of Oxford, to instruct not only their own people, but Christian students in the Hebrew language

(42) Classical Journal, VIII. No. 15. pp. 150, 151.
Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. cap. iv. p. 249. Paris, 1723. fol.

and literature. About two hundred years after their admission by the Conqueror, they were expelled again by Edward I. their synagogues profaned, their libraries dispersed, their goods seized, and many of them barbarously murdered. At Huntingdon and Stamford "all their furniture came under the hammer for sale, together with their *treasures of books*." These Hebrew MSS. were immediately purchased by GREGORY OF HUNTINGDON, prior of the abbey of Ramsey, who had been studying the Hebrew language for some time, and had been checked in his studies by the want of Hebrew books; and who no sooner heard of this auction, than "he hastily repaired to it from his neighbouring monastery, well furnished with money; and readily, at the fixed price, purchased their gold for his brass, and returned home exceedingly well pleased. Night and day he turned over his Hebrew volumes, until he had obtained a more intimate knowledge of the language from its fountain-head. He left also to his fellow-priests many excellent annotations from his own pen, which a learned posterity might read with pleasure. The catalogue of Ramsey Library makes a distinct and honourable mention of the Hebrew books, most industriously collected by him."[43] Gregory bequeathed these valuable acquisitions to his monastery, about the year 1250. At Oxford, great multitudes of the books which had belonged to the Jews, fell into the hands of Roger Bacon, or were bought by his brethren, the Franciscan friars, of that university.[44]

But the number of those who applied to the study of the Hebrew tongue were so few, that the famous Roger Bacon affirmed, that there were not more than three or four persons among the Latins, in his time, who had any knowledge of the Oriental languages; though it must be acknow-

(43) Leland, De Script. Brit. II. cap. cccxxiii. pp. 321, 322. Oxon, 1709, 8vo.

(44) Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, I. Diss. 2.

ledged, that in this instance, the views of our learned friar were too gloomy; and that, whether known to him or not, there were others who were engaged in the study of Arabic and Hebrew principally, to enable them more effectually to refute the antichristian writings of the Jews. On the other hand, that species of theology known by the name of *School-Divinity*, was cultivated with uncommon ardour; and the most celebrated of the scholastic divines were honoured with the pompous titles of *profound, sublime, wonderful, seraphic, angelic doctors.* In the preceding century, the scholastic doctors had made the Scriptures the chief subject of their studies, and the *text* of their lectures, as some few of them still continued to do, who for that reason were denominated BIBLE-DIVINES. But in the course of this century, the Holy Scriptures, with those who studied or endeavoured to explain them, were neglected and contemned. The *Bible-Doctors* were slighted as men of inferior learning and acuteness. "He who lectures on the *Sentences* of Lombard," says the illustrious Roger Bacon, "is every where honoured, and preferred to him who adopts the Sacred *Text* as the subject of his lectures; for, he who reads the *Sentences*, chooses the most convenient hour, according to his pleasure, and obtains a companion and an apartment among the religious; whilst he who reads the *Bible*, is deprived of these advantages, and only obtains an hour for lecturing, by begging it of the lecturer on the *Sentences*."[45]

The same spirit of scholastic divinity ascended the *pulpit*, and introduced a new and more artificial method of *Preaching*. Before this period, the clergy chiefly used the modes of preaching, termed *postillating*, and *declaring*. *Postillating* consisted in expounding a large portion of Scripture, sentence after sentence; a method of instruction still practised in some foreign churches, and in the church

(45) Hody, De Bibliorum Text. Orig. lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 420. Henry's History of Great Britain, VIII. B. iv. ch. iv. pp. 180, 181.

of Scotland, where it is called *lecturing*. *Declaring* was so termed, because the preacher, without naming any particular text, *declared* the subject of his sermon, in words to this purpose: "In my present sermon, I design, by the grace of God, to discourse on such, or such a subject, on the fear of God, (for example,) and on this subject I design to lay down some true and certain conclusions," &c. This last way of preaching was the most popular, and continued in use long after this period. The new method of preaching differed from both these ancient ones in several respects. At the beginning of his discourse, the preacher read a *text* out of some book and chapter of the Old or New Testament, which had lately been divided into chapters and verses by Archbishop Langton, or Cardinal Hugo, as the theme or subject of his sermon. This text he divided into several parts, and the more numerous his divisions and subdivisions, the greater divine and the better preacher was he esteemed. The younger clergy, especially, adopted this artificial method of preaching; but others condemned it, and Roger Bacon in particular speaks of it with contempt, and assigns a singular reason for the prevalence of it in his time: "The greatest part of our prelates," says he, "having but little knowledge in divinity, and having been little used to preaching in their youth, when they become bishops, and are sometimes obliged to preach, are under a necessity of begging and borrowing the sermons of certain novices, who have invented a new way of preaching, by endless divisions and quibblings; in which there is neither sublimity of style nor depth of wisdom, but much childish trifling and folly, unsuitable to the dignity of the pulpit." The opposition to the *textual* mode of preaching continued for more than a century; it at length however prevailed universally, and still continues to be generally adopted.[46]

(46) Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, VIII. pp. 182—186.

To this century also is to be referred the division of the Sacred Text into our present CHAPTERS. The most ancient Hebrew and Greek copies of the Old and New Testament were written without any distinction, not only of chapters and verses, but even of words, so that the Jews were accustomed to say, that anciently the books of the Old Testament formed but a single *Pesuk* or verse. One of the oldest of the Greek MSS. of the New Testament, in which the words are distinctly divided, is the *Codex Augiensis*, so called from Augia major, the name of a monastery at Rhenau, to which it belonged at the time of holding the council of Basil. It is accompanied with a Latin version, and is supposed to have been written in the ninth century. The Greek text is written in capitals, and the Latin in Anglo-Saxon letters. The division of the Hebrew text into *Chapters* was made by the Jews, in imitation of the division of the New Testament; but the division of the Old Testament into *Sections* and *Verses* was much earlier in its origin, and has been considered as coeval with Ezra. The first division of the text of the New Testament was into τίτλοί, *Titles*, or larger portions, which received their denomination from the *Titles* or subjects of those portions being written either in the upper or lower margin of the Greek MSS. and generally in red ink. They were called by the Latins *Breves*, and the table of the contents of each *Brevis*, which was prefixed to the copies of the New Testament, was called *Breviarium*. Dr. Mills supposes, that Tatian, who flourished A. D. 160, invented them for the purpose of constructing his work, called *Diatesseron*, or Harmony of the Four Evangelists. From Tertullian we learn, that in his time, about A.D. 200, the New Testament was divided into *Capitula*, or small Chapters, called by the Greeks κεφαλαία. These chapters, or smaller portions, were numbered on the side of the margin. Both these divisions are very clearly represented in the editions of the

Greek Testament by Erasmus, or in R. Stephens' edition of 1550. The chapters differ in different copies. The most celebrated, and one of the most ancient divisions, was that of Ammonius, a Christian philosopher, who lived at Alexandria, in the third century. From him it had the appellation of the *Ammonian Sections*. Of these there are 355, and 68 *Tituli*, in the Gospel of St. Matthew. In the fourth century, Eusebius adapted to these sections, his ten tables or canons, which represent a harmony of the gospels, and which were commonly prefixed to the Greek MSS. These tables may be seen in the editions of the Greek Testament by Erasmus, in Kuster's edition of Mill's Greek Testament, and in that of R. Stephens of 1550. From these tables of Eusebius the marginal references were taken, that are found in many printed editions of the Greek.

Euthalius relates, that about the year 396, the Epistles of St. Paul were divided into chapters; as were also the Acts of the Apostles, and the Catholic or General Epistles, about the year 451. Andreas Cæsariensis, in the sixth century, or according to others Andreas Cretensis, in the seventh century, divided the Apocalypse into 72 chapters; and about the eleventh century Œcumenius is said to have divided the Acts into 40 *capita*, and 247 *capitula*; a division something analagous to our chapters and verses. The division which obtained in the ancient Latin MSS. was different from that used by the Greeks.[47] In the thirteenth century, the present chapters were invented or adopted by Archbishop Langton, or Cardinal Hugo de S. Caro. Our early biographers, Bale, Pitts, &c. ascribe the invention to the Archbishop, but Biblical critics in general have allowed that the Cardinal was the inventor, and that it was by his example and influence that the old division was entirely laid aside in the Latin

(47) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. ch. viii. p. 210; and ch. xiii. p. 524. pt. ii. pp. 664, 905—908. Barrett, Evangelium secundum Matthæum, quoted in Eclectic Review, III. pp. 198, 199.

church, and in Latin MSS.; although the division in present use was not adopted in writing Greek MSS. till about the end of the fifteenth century.[48] The following biographical sketches of these two celebrated, but very different characters, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

STEPHEN LANGTON was by birth an Englishman. He received his education at Paris, and became so eminent for scholastic learning, and for his application of it, in his explications of Scripture, that he was created Chancellor of the University of Paris, Canon of Paris, and Dean of Rheims. Being called to Rome, he was placed among the Cardinals, by Innocent III. In 1207, he was nominated by the same pontiff to the archbishopric of Canterbury, vacant by the death of Hubert Walter, and was consecrated by the pope himself at Viterbo. This nomination being regarded as an usurpation of the rights of the king of England, as well as of those of the monks of Canterbury and the bishops of the province, met with violent resistance, especially from the king. The pope enraged at the disappointment, laid both the king and kingdom under an interdict. For several years, King John acted with more than usual firmness, and refused to acknowledge the appointment of Langton to the see of Canterbury. At length, dispirited by opposition from the pope and foreign princes from abroad, and from the barons, and many of the clergy and people at home, he submitted to the election of Stephen, and purchased his peace with the Roman pontiff, by a charter granted to certain prelates, and the payment of forty thousand marks.

In 1222, the archbishop called a council at Oxford, at which a number of constitutions were framed, from which the following are extracted, as illustrating the practice and manners of that age.

(48) Hody, De Bibliorum Text. Orig. lib. iii. pt. ii. p. 430. Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, I. p. 201. edit. 12mo.

Constit. 10. "We strictly command parish priests to feed the people with the Word of God, as God inspires them with it, lest they be justly thought dumb dogs: and let them remember, that they who visit the sick, shall be rewarded with the eternal kingdom; therefore let them cheerfully go, when sent for, to the sick."

21. "We forbid with the terror of anathema, any one to retain *Robbers* in his service, for committing robberies; or knowingly to let them dwell on his lands."

25. "Let archdeacons take care in their visitations, that the canon of the mass be correct, and that the priest can rightly *pronounce* (at least) the words of the canon, and of baptism; and that he knows the true meaning of them: and let them teach laymen in what form they ought to baptize in case of necessity, in some language or other."

31. "Let not clergymen, that are beneficed, or in holy orders, publicly keep concubines in their manses, (or parsonage houses,) or have public access to them with scandal, any where else."

36. "We decree that nuns, and other religious women, wear no silk veils, nor needles of silver or gold in their veils; that neither monks nor canons regular, have girdles of silk, or garnished with gold or silver; nor use burnet, (artificial brown,) or any irregular cloth. Let the dimensions of their clothes be commensurate to their bodies, not longer than to cover their feet, like *Joseph's* coat, which came down to the ankles. Only the nuns may wear a ring, and but one.[49]"

On various occasions the archbishop discovered a haughty independence, particularly in his conduct towards his sovereign and the pope. He not only opposed the pope's legate in his exorbitant grants of benefices, but was the principal of those peers who declared against the validity of King *John's* resignation of his crown and kingdom to the see of Rome. The irritated pope excommunicated

(49) Johnson's Ecclesiastical Laws, &c. A. D. MCCXXII.

and suspended him, and reversed the election of his brother Simon Langton, who had been chosen archbishop of York. Prior, however, to the calling of the council at Oxford, these violent measures appear to have been relinquished.

He was the author of COMMENTARIES on many of the books of the Old and New Testament, and of various other works. He died at Slindon, in Sussex, July, 1228, and was buried in the cathedral at Canterbury.[50]

HUGO DE S. CARO, or according to his French name HUGUES DE ST. CHER, was born at Vienne, in Dauphiné, and studied at Paris, where he became a Dominican friar in 1225. He was sent by Gregory IX. to Constantinople, to procure, if possible, an union of the Greek and Roman churches. On his return, he was chosen provincial of France, and, in 1245, received the dignity of cardinal from Innocent IV. being the first of the Dominicans who obtained that honour. In a synod held by him as the pope's legate, at Liege, in 1246, the Feast of *Corpus Christi* was *first* ordered to be celebrated. Pope Urban IV. afterwards, in 1264, fixed it on the Thursday after the Octave of Whitsunday, commanding it to be observed in the whole church with a solemnity equal to the four great festivals of the year.* But his truest honours were derived from his Biblical labours, which placed him in the first rank of sacred critics and patrons of Sacred Literature. To him we are indebted for the celebrated *Correctorium Bibliorum* of the Dominicans; the *first* Con-

(50) Cavei Hist. Lit. Sæc. xiii. pp. 702, 703.
Fox's Actes and Monuments, I. pp. 327—334. Lond. 1570.

* This festival, instituted in support of the doctrine of transubstantiation, was confirmed by different popes, and various privileges and indulgencies were granted to those who honoured it by their devotions. Thus Pope Urban, in his bull of 1264, "To encourage the faithful to honour and celebrate this great feast, we grant to all that do confess their sins, and are truly penitent, who shall be found in the church, at the *Mattins* (midnight) of the said feast, one hundred days' pardon, and as many to those who shall devoutly assist at Mass, &c." *Butler's Moveable Feasts, &c.* pp. 655—657. Lond. 1774, 8vo.

cordance of the Scriptures; *a Comment on the Old and New Testament*; and most probably for the division of the Bible into our present *Chapters*.

The CORRECTORIUM BIBLIORUM, or Bible with *various readings*, was, in 1772, in the library of the Dominicans in the college of St. James, at Paris. It is fairly written upon parchment, with demi-gothic letters, forming four large volumes in folio. The design of it was to introduce correct copies of the Scriptures into the public services of the church, and into general use, instead of the shamefully corrupt and incorrect ones commonly read. For this purpose Cardinal Hugo, aided by the authority of F. Jordan, general of the order, caused a collation to be made of the common copies with the oldest and most accurate that could be obtained, particularly of those transcribed by order of Charlemagne, under the inspection of Alcuin; and also ordered them to be compared with the Original Texts. The *Correctorium* is the result of this laborious and valuable collation. The *various readings* of the Latin, Hebrew, and Greek MSS. are placed in the margin, and the superfluous words which have been inserted in the text by careless transcribers or ignorant critics, are marked by a line drawn underneath them. This important revision of the Latin Scriptures was made about A. D. 1236; and was succeeded by an injunction, that all the copies made use of by the order, should be corrected and punctuated according to this standard. So well was this revision received by the Dominican friars, that Humbert, another general of the order, at a chapter general, held at Paris, in 1256, forbade all the religious of his order to make use of the corrections of the Latin Bible, which had been made at Sens, with the same design as this by the cardinal.*

* The same Humbert, in his *Expositio in Regulam S. Augustini*, cap. cl. after earnestly pressing the importance of reading the Scriptures, and replying to those who refused to read or hear them, because they despaired of understanding them, (probably from not being in the vernacular tongue,) concludes by the following extraordinary and superstitious

Hugo's *Correctorium* consequently soon became general, and, till the declaration of the council of Trent, was considered as the standard of the Latin Scriptures, and the editions of Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. and may be regarded as the source of all those MSS. which, under the titles of *Correctio, Correctiones,* or *Correctorium Bibliæ,* are still to be met with in many of the monasteries of the Dominican friars.[51]

The CONCORDANCE of the *Latin Bible,* compiled under the direction of the cardinal, was the first work of the kind, and must have demanded unwearied patience, and indefatigable diligence; he is accordingly said to have employed 500 monks,* in selecting, and arranging in alphabetical order, all the *declinable* words of the Old and New Testaments. It first appeared under the name *De Sancto Jacobo,* or the Concordance of St. James; the author himself being sometimes called *Hugo De Sancto Jacobo,* probably from residing a considerable time at Paris, in the convent of St. James, where he gave lectures on the Holy Scriptures, and assisted, as doctor in theology, in the condemnation of a plurality of benefices, by the faculty of theology, A. D. 1238. The idea of such a compilation was probably suggested by those very useful *Indexes,* which, from a remote period, had been formed for assisting the student in his consultations of the works of different authors; though there was this difference betwixt an index and a concordance, that the former referred only to particular subjects or passages, but the latter to words and sentences. John of Darlington, and

sentiment: "We ought to believe, that the words of Scripture, (verba sacra) although not understood by those who read them, nevertheless possess a power against 'spiritual wickedness;' as the words of a charm against a serpent, though not understood by the charmer himself!" See *Whartoni Auctarium,* p. 420.

(51) Fabricy, Titres Primitifs, II. pp. 132—141.

* Chevillier, (L' Origine de l' Imprimerie de Paris, p. 134,) doubts the fact of so many monks being employed, but supposes the work to have been at first much less voluminous than at present, and to have increased by frequent revisions and improvements.

Richard of Stavensby, assisted by other Englishmen, made considerable additions to the original work, which was afterwards considerably improved by Conrad of Halberstadt, who flourished A. D. 1290. It was still farther enlarged and improved in the fifteenth century, about the time of the council of Basil, by John of Ragusia, procurator general, and a monk of the order of preachers, or Dominicans, who added all the *indeclinable* words; and at length received its present form from Walter Scot, and John of Segovia. Sixtus Senensis, in his *Bibliotheca Sancta*, lib. iii. first published in 1566, has presented the reader with a specimen of an extensive and improved Concordance, invented by himself, and intended to serve not only as an *index* of words and sentences, but as a *Theological Dictionary*, and *Concordance of parallel Passages:* unfortunately there is no intimation that the work was ever completed. From the Latin Concordance of Cardinal Hugo, are derived those Concordances in various languages, which have so greatly aided the studies of Biblical scholars.[52]

The COMMENTARY, or "*Postilla*,"* of Hugo, on all the books of Scripture, is a series of notes on the Sacred Text, in which he endeavours to show the literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical sense of the inspired writers, though all these different modes of exposition are not employed to explain every part of the Sacred Text, most generally only the literal and moral, or literal alone, and occasionally the allegorical, and anagogical or mystical; a brief extract will exhibit the nature of his work:

(52) Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra, I. cap. x. pp. 456, 457. Paris, 1723, fol. Chevillier, L' Origine de l' Imprimerie de Paris, pt. ii. ch. ii. pp. 133, 134. Paris, 1694, 4to.
Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iii. p. 185. et lib. iv. pp. 311. 273.

* The term "Postilla," frequently adopted by the commentators of that period, was generally applied to those explanatory notes which were placed *after* the text, and was probably derived from the Latin *postea*, or *postilla*, (sc. *verba*;) unless we suppose the word *postilla* to be a corruption from *posta*, a page. Du Cange, Glossar. v. *Posta*, *Postillæ*,

JOHN, chap. v. "Search the Scriptures.] q. d. in them the Father testifies of me, if ye read them inwardly. Therefore search, that is, diligently investigate the spiritual sense, not satisfying yourselves with the literal merely."

"For in them ye think ye have eternal life: ye *think.*] because, as he shows, they only read the Scriptures literally, and therefore had not the knowledge of eternal life, but a mere opinion or conjecture."

"And they are they which testify of me,] q. d. the very grounds on which you found your hope of eternal life, testify of me. It is therefore evident, that the hindrance to your believing in me, is in your own depraved will, since the design of the Scriptures is to persuade you to believe in me."

2 TIM. iv. "The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee.] According to Haymo, the penula, or cloak, was the consular vest of Paul's father, conferred upon him by the Romans, when he obtained the privilege of a Roman citizen:—according to Jerom, the book of the law is to be understood; but Chrysostom says, *phelonem* is a garment; and afterwards adds, that he inquires for the cloak, to prevent the necessity of receiving from others; Acts xx. It is more blessed to give, than to receive."

"And the books.] Chrysostom asks, What need was there of books for him who was about to go to God? And replies, there was then the greatest need, that he might deposit them with the believers. Another reason was, that they might afford him solace in tribulation; and give to others an example of study. 1 Maccab. xii. We have the Holy Books of Scripture in our hands, to comfort us. And it is an argument for study, since, on the eve of martyrdom, he either wishes to study them himself, or to recommend the study of them to others."

"But especially the parchments;] That I may write my epistles upon them. And let it be noted, that he who gloried that the Holy Spirit and Christ spake in him, 2 Cor. xiii. made use of parchments in this case, for (the assistance of) the memory."[53]

This work has been several times printed in 6 vols. folio, and at Cologne, in 1621, in 8 vols. folio. This is usually supposed to be the first Bible divided into the present CHAPTERS, which, for the convenience of quotations and references, were subdivided again by the cardinal, by adding in the margin the letters A. B. C. D. E. F. a practice continued till the invention of the present verses, by Robert Stephens, in 1550, and adopted in our early English Bibles. Yet Cardinal Humbert, about A. D. 1059, cites the 12th and 13th chapters of Exodus, and the 23rd of Leviticus, according to our present division of chapters. Hugo died on the 14th of March, A. D. 1262, and was buried in the church of the Dominicans, at Lyons.[54]

The School or Academy of Paris has been repeatedly mentioned, as the resort of all who were desirous of completing a literary education; we may now farther observe, that hitherto the public studies had been limited to certain branches of learning, denominated the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium;* the *Trivium* included grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics; the *Quadrivium* comprehended music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. He who was master of these had been thought to have no need of a preceptor, to explain any books, or to solve any questions which lay within the compass of human reason; the knowledge of the *Trivium* having furnished him with the key to all language, and that of the *Quadrivium* having opened to him the secret laws of nature. But as the views or desires of men became enlarged, the whole circle of the sci-

(53) Ugonis de S. Charo, Opera, VII. p. 230. Colon. Agrip. 1621, fol.
(54) Cavei Hist. Lit. Sæc. xiii. p. 721.
Jortin's Remarks, III. p. 126.

ences, as far as the allotted period of time would allow, did not appear to be an object beyond the comprehension of youthful minds. Schools then which professed to embrace *all* the sciences within their walls, and to appoint masters to each, were properly denominated *Universities*, of which, Paris, about the year 1215, is said to have set the example. This was soon followed in other countries, and particularly in Italy; where almost every city, owing to the beneficence of princes or of pontiffs, was honoured with the distinctive title. The civil and canon law, theology, and the more abstruse philosophical researches, were the studies most ardently followed: the two first as the path to preferment; the latter, as the way to secure celebrity and applause in the field of disputation.[55] But books were still scarce, as has been already noted, for the work of transcription was necessarily slow, laborious, and expensive; and where the monks laboured as scribes, their copies were generally enclosed in the cloister; and what was executed by hired artists in the universities, could satisfy the demands only of a few. Wood's notice of the library of Merton College, Oxford, in its infant state, (*Colleges and Halls*, edit. Gutch, vol. I. p. 61,) is illustrative of the manners and learning of the times; "at first the society kept those books they had, (which were but few,) in chests, and once, sometimes twice, in a year, made choice for the borrowing of such as they liked, by giving a certificate under their hands, for the restoring of them again to their proper place."[56] How arduous the pursuit of literature, and how slow its progress during the ages of transcription, and before the invention of printing! Nor did the allowance to students in the public academies, or universities, enable them to purchase many volumes for them-

(55) Enfield's Hist. of Philosophy, II. p. 337.
Berington's Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages, B. v. p. 354.
(56) Chalmer's Hist. of the University of Oxford, I. p. 36. Oxf. 1810, 8vo.

selves. According to the statutes of Merton College, Oxford, founded in 1264, the allowance to scholars was only fifty shillings *per annum* for all necessaries, and the revenues of Baliol College, founded in 1263, or 1268, were at first so small, as to yield only eight-pence *per week* to each scholar, but afterwards were so increased by the benefaction of Sir P. Somervyle, as to raise the weekly allowance of the fellows and scholars to eleven-pence, and in case of dearness of victuals to fifteen-pence.[57]

Hearne, in the "Preliminary Observations" prefixed to the 6th vol. of his edition of Leland's "Collectanea," has attempted to defend the monks of the Middle Ages against the general charge of ignorance and illiteracy; and if he have not been completely successful in rescuing them from the imputations of their contemporary opponents, his reasoning is nevertheless deserving of attention: "Nobody doubts," says he, "but the *monasteries* had divers members that could not be styled *learned*. But when we discourse of learned bodies, these ought not to be considered, at least their ignorance ought not to be looked upon as sufficient to denominate them unlearned. Add to this, that sometimes these illiterate persons were eminent upon some other account, and consequently might prove very serviceable to the monasteries. After all, 'tis very certain that a great number of the monks were men of very profound learning and of extraordinary abilities. Had they been otherwise, 'tis impossible to account for that incredible number of books written by them. No one that reads either Boston of Bury, or Leland, or other authors, that say any thing of their writings, can justly suppose them to have been illiterate men. On the contrary, many of their writings are very judicious, and full of learning, and what many of the best of our modern writers, (notwithstanding the many advantages we have for acquiring learning that they wanted,) need not be

(57) Chalmer's Hist. of Oxford, I. pp. 6. 47, 48, 49.

ashamed of: nay, in some parts of learning they exceeded any of our moderns, which is an argument, not only of excellent parts, but of their constant and unwearied diligence and application. Had it not been for this diligence and care, we had not had so many of the best authors of the first ages preserved. *John Bale** himself, who was otherwise their mortal enemy, will allow them this praise, and 'tis for that reason he laments the havock of so many of the books that they had preserved, at the dissolution. I know very well that the *Abbots* had oftentimes a small quantity of books, sometimes not above five or six, in their own private studies; and perhaps many of the monks might not have had more. But we are not to measure the extent of any one's learning by the number of books, although, indeed, if this were any proof, we might alledge in behalf of the religious, that however *meanly* furnished their own *private* studies might be, they might have continual access, if they pleased, to such libraries as were well stored, I mean the libraries that belonged in common to each abbey. We have accounts of the furniture of some of these libraries; and if we may judge of the rest by these, 'tis certain they had a *large* as well as a *noble* stock of books, and that many of their libraries might vie for number with many of our best libraries since. And even such libraries as had not so great a store, exceeded divers of our present libraries by reason they were all MSS. and upon that score are to be looked upon as a valuable and precious treasure. In short, as the abbeys were very curious, fine, and magnificent piles of building, richly endowed, and continually found liberal benefactors, so I believe their libraries in every respect answered the other parts of the structures, and were all (notwithstanding the reflexion made upon the *Franciscan* Library at Oxford, just

* *John Bale*, bishop of Ossory, in Ireland, was educated in the Roman Catholic religion, but afterwards embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, and became a noted author. He died in 1563.

upon the dissolution) adorned with an extraordinary fine collection of books."[58]

Among the mendicant orders, particularly the Dominicans, there were some who, during this century, applied themselves to the study of the Oriental tongues, with the laudable design of attempting the conversion of the Jews and Mohammedans. In one of their general chapters, held at Valencia in 1259, it was ordained that the prior of Spain should institute a school in the convent of Barcelona, for the study of the *Arabic* tongue; "Injungimus Priori Hispaniæ quod ipse ordinet aliquod studium ad addicendam Linguam Arabicam in conventu Barcinonensi vel alibi, et ibidem collocet fratres aliquos de quibus speretur, quod de hujusmodi studio possunt proficere."[59]

Raymond of Pennafort, or Pegnafort, so called from the place of his birth, in Catalonia, general of the Dominicans, a man of piety, zeal, and learning, condemned the violence which had too frequently been employed to destroy rather than to convert the Jews, and endeavoured to promote their conversion by instruction, and the adoption of mild and persuasive measures. At his request, James I. king of Arragon, published several edicts to repress the insolence of the people, and to encourage those studies that might qualify them for disputing against the Jewish errors with success. Pope Gregory IX. to whom Raymond of Pennafort was chaplain and confessor, promoted the same plans; and countenanced the public disputations with the Jews. The most noted of these public conferences was one held in the palace, before the king of Arragon, about A. D. 1260. The disputants were Moses Bar Nachman, or Nachmanides, a learned Cabbalistic Jew, and Raymond Martin, and Paul Christian, two Dominican friars. Both sides claimed the victory. In the acts of this conference, published by Wa-

(58) Leland's Collectanea, by Hearne, VI. pp. 86, 87.
(59) Simon, Lettres Choisies, III. Let. 16. p. 112.

genseil, in his *Tela Ignea Satanæ*, Altdorf. Noric. 1681, 4to. and written by Nachmanides, the author maintains, that the king was so well pleased with his conduct, as to present him with three hundred golden crowns for his intended journey. On the other side, it is asserted, that the Jews were so confounded by their adversaries, that their advocate chose to quit Spain, and retire to Jerusalem, to avoid the reproach and shame of his defeat. Basnage, however, considers the "Acts" published by Wagenseil, as spurious, though he allows the fact of a public disputation.[60]

R. Moses Ben Nachman, frequently called Ramban, from the abbreviation of his name, was born at Gironne, in the year 1194. He applied himself first to physic; and at the same time made such progress in the study of the law, as to obtain the names of the *Father of Wisdom; the Luminary; the Flower of the Crown and of Holiness*. A discourse delivered before the king, acquired him the title of *the Father of Eloquence*. At one period he despised the *Cabbala*, but afterwards became one of the most strenuous of its defenders. He published various works, principally Cabbalistic expositions of the law. After enjoying high reputation in Spain his native country for many years, he quitted it for Judea, and resided at Jerusalem, where he built a synagogue, and afterwards ended his days. The exact time of his death is uncertain, different authors placing it in different years.[61]

Of Paul, surnamed *Christian*, nothing more is known than what has been related, except that he obtained a decree from the king of Arragon, of which Wagenseil has given a copy, from which the following translation is made. It is addressed to the Jews.

"We command and strictly charge you, that whenever

(60) Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. vii. ch. xv. pp. 660, 661. Wagenseilii Tela Ignea Satanæ, Disputatio &c. pp. 2. 60.

(61) Basnage, *ut sup.* pp. 655, 656.

our beloved son, Fr. Paul Christian, of the order of Friars Preachers, (or Dominicans,) whom we have sent to shew you the way of salvation, shall come to you, to your synagogues, or houses, or any other place; for the sake of preaching the Word of God, or of disputing, or conferring with you, together or separately, respecting the Holy Scriptures, in public or in private, or by way of familiar conversation; that ye come to him, and mildly and favourably listen to him; and, as far as ye know, answer his questions respecting faith and the Holy Scriptures, with humility and reverence, and without calumny or subterfuge. And that you also permit him to have the use of such of your books, as he may want, in order to shew you the truth; and the expenses which the said brother may have incurred in conveying from place to place such books as he deemed necessary for teaching you the truth, (the brethren of his order, by their constitution, being freed from expenses,) be careful to discharge, placing them to our account, and deducting them from the tribute which ye should pay to us. Moreover we strictly charge and command all bailiffs, vicars, and other officers, in every part of our dominions, that if the Jews aforesaid do not freely comply with what is before mentioned, that they oblige them by our authority, as they desire our favour and affection. Given at Barcelona, IV. Calend. Sept. anno Domini MCCLXIII."(62)

Raymond Martin was a monk of the order of St. Dominic, and had been chosen to study the languages, that he might be employed in the conversion of the Jews. With this design he not only applied himself diligently to the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic tongues, but gained an extensive acquaintance with the rabbinical writings, and the general habits and character of the people for whose instruction his studies were immediately directed. After the public disputation with R. Moses

(62) Wagenseilii Tela Ignea Satanæ: *Disputatio &c. in Præfat.*

Ben Nachman, he was appointed, with the bishop of Barcelona, and Raymond Pennafort, the general of his order, to examine and judge of the blasphemies inserted in the Jewish books, in consequence of complaints having been made to the king against them. He was also the author of a celebrated work against the Jews, entitled *Pugio Fidei*, or the Poniard of Faith, which, by the numerous quotations from the Rabbins, proves that the author had diligently studied their works, and was well qualified for the controversy in which he had engaged. In 1651, an edition was published at Paris, in folio, at the expense of the order to which its author had belonged, edited by the learned Joseph de Voisin, and accompanied with remarks by the editor: another edition was published by Carpzovius, at Leipsic, in 1687, fol. with an Introduction to Jewish Theology, and a short account of the conversion of Herman, a Jew, to Christianity, written by himself. The celebrated German, Esdras Edzard, who died in 1708, took the trouble to verify all the references made by Raymond Martin to Jewish writings, by collating them with the printed editions of the several works. These researches have since been inserted by Wolfius, in the 4th vol. of his Bibliotheca Hebræa, pp. 572—628. Unfortunately, Edzard did not specify the editions which he consulted, but Fabricy, in his *Titres Primitifs*, informs us, that the Abbé Poch has remedied this defect; he has revised the remarks of Edzard, indicated the different editions in which the quotations may be found, and pointed out several other passages which had escaped the researches of Edzard. His remarks and corrections, however, have never been published.—Raymond Martin died in the convent of the Dominicans at Barcelona, in 1284.[63]

The character of James I. king of Arragon, in whose

(63) Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. vii. pp. 660—662. Fabricy, Titres Primitifs, II. pp. 143—145.

* Simon, Lettres Choisies, III. Let. 16. p. 113.

presence Nachmanides and the two Dominican friars held their public disputations, appears to have been singularly inconsistent. Basnage relates,[64] that such was his attachment to the Jews, that he received moral lectures from them; and procured books of devotion and piety to be composed by them. R. Jona, who lived in 1264, wrote to another Jew at Gironne, requesting his advice, how to fulfil the intention of the king of Arragon, who had commanded him to write a book *to instruct man in the duties of religion and piety:* the same Jona was probably the author of a celebrated work on the *Fear of God,* translated into German and Spanish, under the title of *Tratado del Timor Divino.* Yet such was the capriciousness of this prince, that he prohibited his Christian subjects from reading the writings of the Rabbins, and so far were these violent measures carried, that to have a rabbinical work in possession, was deemed a sufficient proof of Judaism![65]

In France, Louis IX. who died in 1270, and was canonized by Pope Boniface VIII. in 1297, displayed "the magnanimity of the hero, the integrity of the patriot, and the humanity of the philosopher," and what was of still higher value, discovered the virtues of the Christian. He ranked the study of the Holy Scriptures among the essential duties of a prince, and literally "meditated therein day and night.". His biographer, who had been eighteen years confessor to Queen Margaret, wife of Louis, tells us that his library consisted of the BIBLE *accompanied with a Gloss,* or Commentary, the *Originals of the works of St. Augustin, the writings of other saints,* and certain *works concerning the Scriptures.* These he either himself read, or caused others to read to him, every day after dinner; and when not otherwise engaged, sent for one of the monks, with whom he conversed concerning God, or

(64) Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. vii. ch. xv. p. 663.
(65) Du Cange, v. *Charta de Rabi,* II. col. 517.

the saints, or Scripture History. In the evening, when the last of the daily religious services, or *Compline*, had been read in the chapel, by his chaplains, he usually retired to his chamber, and then, to use the expressions of the writer, "estoit alumée une Chandele de certaine longueur, c'est a savoir de trois piez ou environ; et endementieres que ele duroit, il lisoit en LA BIBLE, ou en un autre saint livre: et quant la chandele estoit vers la fin, un de ses chapelains estoit apelés, et lors il disoit complie avecques lui:" "a candle, (or wax taper,) of about three feet long was lighted, and while it lasted he read in the Bible, or some other pious book; and when it was nearly consumed, one of his chaplains was called, with whom he then said the Compline."[66]

Another of the biographers of this excellent sovereign communicates the information, that by his order a translation was made of the whole Bible, into *French*, and adds, that he had seen a copy of the version.[67] Le Long notices an old French version of the Bible, now in the Royal Library at Paris, from which he has extracted the first chapter of Genesis, and part of the first Psalm, as specimens of the translation, and which he conjectures may be the one executed by the order of St. Louis. It is on parchment, illuminated and ornamented with figures; but is defective, wanting from the twelfth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, to the end of the Revelation.[68]

During the reign of Louis, ROBERT SORBON, a canon, and learned doctor at Paris, whom he had honoured with his particular friendship, founded the *Sorbonne*, a college in the university of Paris, appropriated to the study of divinity. It was endowed by Louis, and the confirmation of it obtained from Clement IV. about A. D. 1250.

(66) Histoire de Saint Louis par Jehan Sire de Joinville, &c. &c. Vie de S. Louis, p. 322. Paris, 1761, fol.

(67) Joannes de Serres. See Le Long, Biblioth. Sacra. I. cap. iv. pp. 314, 315. fol. 1723.

(68) Le Long, *ubi sup.*

Cardinal Richelieu afterwards magnificently rebuilt the college, and thus erected an honourable monument to his memory.[69]

It is however to be lamented, that about the same time, it was ordered by the statutes of the university of Paris, that "none should read lectures on the Bible, unless he had studied seven years in that university;" (See Lewis's *Hist. of the Eng. Translations of the Bible,* p. 35.) and that several works were written and circulated in France and Italy, which could only serve to depreciate the Sacred Scriptures, and promote superstition and the worst species of fanaticism. The principal of these were *the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin; the Everlasting Gospel;* and *the Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel.* The PSALTER OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN was an impious parody upon the *Psalms,* in which the author introduces the name and appellations of Mary, instead of those of the Divine Being.

The following extracts will exemplify his manner:

'Blessed is the man that loveth thy name, O Virgin 'Mary; thy grace shall comfort his soul.'

'The heavens declare thy glory; and the fragrance of 'thine ointments is spread among the nations.'

'O come let us sing unto our Lady; let us make a 'joyful noise to Mary our Queen, that brings salvation.'

'O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good; give 'thanks unto his Mother, for her mercy endureth for 'ever.'

'Lady, despise not my praise; and vouchsafe to 'accept this Psalter which is dedicated unto thee.'

'The Lord said unto our Lady; sit thou, my Mother, 'at my right hand.'[70]

This *Psalter* is generally ascribed to Cardinal Bona-

(69) Butler's Lives, VIII. Aug. 25. p. 385.

(70) Usher's Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuite in Ireland, p. 367. Lond. 1686, 4to. where he refers to *Bonavent. Opera,* T. VI. Rom. 1588.

venture, who was the author of several other works in praise of the Virgin Mary; but Alban Butler denies that he wrote the Psalter, and says "it is unworthy to bear his name."[71] John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, also composed a work of a similar nature, entitled *Psalterium Meditationum B. Mariæ*, but it has never been printed.[72]

The EVERLASTING GOSPEL, as it was called, was a fanatical work, attributed, perhaps falsely, to Joachim, abbot of Sora, in Calabria, whom the multitude revered as a person divinely inspired, and equal to the most illustrious prophets of ancient times. It contained various predictions relating to the church of Rome, and the future state of religion. The author divided the world into *three ages*, agreeing with the three dispensations of religion that were to succeed each other. The two *imperfect ages*, by which he understood the age of the Old Testament, which was that of the *Father*, and the age of the New, which was under the administration of the *Son*, were, according to his predictions, now past; and the third age, or that of the *Holy Ghost*, was at hand, in which *a new and more perfect Gospel* should be promulgated by a set of poor and austere ministers, whom God would raise up and employ for that purpose. The title of this production was taken from *Revelation* xiv. 6, and was divided into three books; the first of which was entitled *Liber Concordiæ Veritatis*, i. e. *the Book of the Harmony of Truth;* the second, *Apocalypsis Nova*, or *the New Revelation;* and the third, *Psalterium decem Chordarum*, or *the Ten-stringed Harp*. The Franciscans applied the predictions to themselves, and to the austere rule of discipline established by their founder St. Francis, who, they maintained, was the angel whom St. John saw flying in

(71) Cavei Hist. Lit. sæc. xiii. pp. 728—730.
Butler's Lives, VII. p. 166, note.
(72) Usher's Answer to a Challenge &c. p. 367.

the midst of heaven; and that it was he who delivered to mankind the *true Gospel.*[73]

The INTRODUCTION TO THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL was the production of a Franciscan friar, and was evidently written by its fanatical author to delude the multitude into a high notion of the sanctity of the mendicant orders, and to extend and establish their authority among the people. In this impious work it was maintained,

1. "That the *Everlasting Gospel* [viz. of Joachim] excelled the doctrine of Christ, and the Old and New Testaments."

2. "That the Gospel of Christ was not the Gospel of the kingdom, and that the church could not be built up by it."

3. "That the New Testament was to be done away with, like that of the Old."

4. "That the New Testament would cease to be of force after the year 1260."

5. "That another Gospel would succeed the Gospel of Christ; and another Priesthood, the Priesthood of Christ."

6. "That none were suited to the instruction of men in spiritual and eternal things, but those who walked barefoot, i. e. the mendicant orders."[74]

A number of other detestable opinions, extracted from these works, are given by the learned Usher, in his work entitled *Gravissimæ Quæstionis, de Christianarum Ecclesiarum, in Occidentibus præsertim partibus, ab successione et statu, historica explicatio,* Lond. 1613, 4to.

When the *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel* was published at Paris, in 1254, it excited the most lively feelings of horror and indignation, and the Roman pontiff, Alexander IV. was obliged to suppress it in the year 1255. But willing to spare the reputation of the mendicants, he ordered it to be burnt in *secret.* The university

(73) Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. III. p. 209—211.

(74) Usserius De Christianarum Ecclesiarum, &c. pp. 277—280.

of Paris, dissatisfied with such gentle and timorous proceedings, insisted upon the *public* condemnation of the book, and Alexander, at length, was reluctantly constrained to commit the Franciscan's performance publicly to the flames.[75]

Such were the occurrences of the Western churches in relation to the Sacred Scriptures, and the circulation of them among the people; nor do we find a more general and effective promotion of Biblical knowledge in the churches of the East. Scanty and unsatisfactory is all the information that can be gleaned on this important and interesting subject. It is, however, certain, that a number of transcriptions were made of the GREEK TESTAMENT, and of the PSALMS. Proofs of this exist in the various *MSS.* of this century, brought from mount Athos, and other places in the East, and still preserved in the different libraries of Europe.[76]

Towards the *close* of the *thirteenth* century, a translation was made of the NEW TESTAMENT, and of the PSALMS OF DAVID, into the TARTAR language, by JOHANNES A MONTE CORVINO, in order to accelerate the propagation of the Gospel among the dark and idolatrous nations to whom he had been sent as a missionary in 1288, by Pope Nicholas IV. He was originally an Italian friar, and derived his name from *Mons Corvinus*, where he was born, in 1237. After having been employed in the mission for many years, he was appointed Archbishop of Cambalu, the same with Pekin; at that time the celebrated metropolis of Cathay, now one of the capital cities of the Chinese empire; erected into an archbishoprick, and conferred upon our laborious missionary, by Clement VII. in 1307; an honour which he enjoyed till his decease, in A. D. 1330.[77]

(75) Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. *ut sup.*
(76) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. and ii. ch. viii. sec. 6. *passim.*
(77) Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. III. pp. 133. 299.
Mosheimii Hist. Tartar. Eccles. pp. 76—78, 97, 98. 111.

The following letter, addressed by this zealous missionary to certain dignitaries of his church, is curious and interesting:

"I, brother JOHN DE MONTE CORVINO, of the order of Friars Minors, left Tauris, a city of Persia, in the year 1291, and came into India, and remained in this country, at the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, thirteen months, and baptized about 100 persons in divers places; here also *Nicholas de Pistoris*, of the order of friars preachers, and the companion of my life, died, and was buried in the church. From thence I came into Cathay, the kingdom of the emperor of the Tartars, who is called the Great Khan; and whom I invited to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the letters from the lord Pope; but he was too obstinately attached to idolatry, yet he conferred many benefits on the Christians, and I remained with him two years."

"In those parts, certain Nestorians, assuming the title of Christians, but differing in many things from the religion of Christ, had established themselves so firmly, that they permitted no Christian to practise ceremonies differing from theirs; nor to have ever so small an oratory; nor to promulgate any other doctrine than Nestorianism. And, forasmuch as no Apostle, nor disciple of the Apostles, ever visited these lands, the before-mentioned Nestorians, and others whom they had corrupted by money, raised violent persecutions against me, asserting, that I was not sent by the lord Pope, but was a great spy, and one who made men mad; and after some time, produced false witnesses in another way, saying, that an ambassador had been sent with great treasures to the emperor, whom I had robbed and murdered in India; and this machination continued for about five years, so that I was frequently dragged to judgment, with the imputation of murder. At length, by the will of God, through the confession of a certain person, the emperor was convinced of my inno-

cence, and of the malice of my enemies, whom, with their wives and children, he sent into exile. In this foreign land I remained eleven years, without a companion, until brother *Arnold*, a German, from the province of Cologne, came to me, now more than a year ago. I have built a church in Cambalu, the chief residence of the sovereign, which I finished six years ago; and have made a belfry, in which I have placed three bells. I have also baptized, as I suppose, up to this time, about 6000 persons; and but for the before-mentioned accusations, I should have baptized 30,000; and I am still often baptizing. I have, besides, successively purchased 150 boys, the children of pagans, from 7 to 11 years old, who were at the time completely ignorant, having never been taught; these I have baptized, and taught them our ritual in Greek and Latin letters; and have transcribed PSALTERS for them, with 30 Hymn-Books, and 2 Breviaries; with which, 11 boys now know our office, and hold *chorus* and *hebdomary*, as is done in the convents, whether I am present or not; many of them also copy PSALTERS, and other useful works: the emperor delights much in their singing. I ring the bells at all the [stated] hours, and perform divine service with the congregation of babes and sucklings; and we sing *secundum usum*, not having an office with the notes."

"A certain king, in this quarter, named GEORGE, of the sect of the Nestorians, a kinsman of the great king called *Prester John* of India, attached himself to me the first year I came, and being converted by me to the Catholic faith, entered the orders of the Friars Minors, and when I celebrated [divine service] ministered to me, clothed in the vestments. Some of the other Nestorians accused him of apostacy; but, notwithstanding, he brought over a great part of his people to the true Catholic faith, and erected a beautiful church, with royal magnificence, to the honour of our God, of the Holy Trinity, and of the lord

Pope, calling it the *Roman Church.* Six years ago, this king GEORGE went to the Lord, leaving behind him an infant son and heir, who is now nine years old. The brethren of king George, however, adhering steadily to the errors of the Nestorians, after the death of the king, subverted all those whom he had converted, by inducing them to return to their former schism. As I was alone, and could not quit the emperor the Khan, I was unable to go to that church which was distant 20 days journey; yet if some good co-adjutors and co-workers should come, I hope in God, that all might be reclaimed; for I still have the privilege granted by the deceased king George."

"I again say, that had it not been for the before-mentioned infamous calumnies, great fruit might have followed. If there had been two or three companions with me, to assist me, perhaps the emperor the Khan might have been baptized. I request, therefore, that such brethren may come, if any be willing, who will studiously endeavour to set examples, and not to "enlarge the borders of their garments." Of the route, I may notice, that the shorter and safer way is through the country of the Goths, the governors of the Tartars of the north, by which they might come, with guides, in five or six months; the other way is longer, and more dangerous, including two voyages, the first as far as between Acho and the province of Provence, the second as far as between Acho and Angelia; and it may happen, that the journey this way will scarcely he completed in two years, the former way having been for a long time rendered impassable by the wars. On this account, I have not for twelve years received any news respecting the court of Rome, or our order, or the state of the west. Two years since a certain Lombard physician came, who spread incredible and blasphemous reports in these parts, relative to the court of Rome, and our order, which makes me anxious to know the truth."

"I request you, brethren, to whom this epistle may come, to take care that its contents be known to the lord Pope, the cardinals, and the procurator of our order, at the court of Rome. I intreat the general of our order, for an antiphonar, a legendary, a graduale, and a Psalter, with notes for a copy, since I have only a portable breviary with brief lessons, and a small missal. If I obtain a copy, the before-mentioned boys will transcribe others. I am now engaged in building another church, to separate the youths into several places. I am now old, and grey-headed, more by labour and trouble than by age, being only fifty-eight. I have completely learned the Tartar language and letters, as commonly used by the Tartars, and have translated into their tongue and letters *the whole* NEW TESTAMENT and PSALTER, which I have caused to be written in their most beautiful characters; and I write, and read, and preach, in that language, openly, and clearly, the testimony of the Law of Christ. I had also agreed with the aforesaid King George, if he had lived, to translate the whole Latin Office, that it might be sung through the whole of his dominions; and as long as he lived, I celebrated mass in his church according to the Latin ritual, reading in that language, as well the words of the canon as of the preface. The son of the said king is called JOHN, after my name, and I hope in God he will imitate the steps of his father. Moreover, from what I hear and see, I believe there is no king nor prince in the world that can be equalled to the lord Khan for extent of territory, multitude of people, and abundance of riches."

"Given in the city of Cambalu, in the kingdom of Cathay, January the 8th, in the year of our Lord, 1305."[78]

An interesting relation of the discovery of the existence of a TARTAR version of the OLD TESTAMENT, amongst the Karaite Jews, by the Rev. R. Pinkerton, at Baktcheserai or

(78) Mosheimii Hist. Tartar. Eccles. p. 114. No. 33. Helmstad. 1731, 4to.

Bahchisaray, in 1816, will be found in Pinkerton's *Letters*, &c. It is there said to have been made several centuries ago the forefathers of the present Karaite Jews. Of this copy Dr. Pinkerton writes, "We returned to Bahchisaray by the same way we went; and it was not long before Aaron followed, and presented me with a most beautiful copy of *all the Canonical Books of the Old Testament* in the *Tartar* language, written on fine vellum paper, in the Hebrew character, comprised in four volumes quarto, for which I paid him 200 rubles. I have seldom met with a more beautiful manuscript. It is elegantly bound in red goat's leather, and ornamented with gold. I shall endeavour to get it sent off in safety to St. Petersburg,* where, with the assistance of one or two learned Tartars, under my own direction, should it please God to spare me to return, it may be fairly written out in the character, and carefully revised and put to the press, with the translation of the New Testament made by the missionaries in Karass.—The peculiar principles of the Karaites, in rejecting the Talmud, and all the traditionary fables of the Jews, and their strict adherence to the sacred text of Scripture alone, give me great reason to hope, that we shall find this, their Tartar translation from the Hebrew, to be correct."[79]

Of the old *Tartar* translation, by Johannes a Monte Corvino, but little is known, as no copies of it are in any of the public libraries of Europe; nor so far as can be ascertained, do any traces of it remain in Tartary or China.

* This precious MS. arrived safely at St. Petersburg, and a volume of it was sent to the Scotch missionaries in Astrachan, who, after having examined it, pronounced it to be in a very different dialect from that spoken by the Nogay, Kasan, and Crimea Tartars, but regarded it as what would be of great use to them in a translation of the Old Testament into the same Tartar dialect, in which the New Testament already exists. See *Prince Galitzin's Letter to Lord Teignmouth.*

(79) Extracts of Letters from the Rev. R. Pinkerton, on his tour in Russia, &c. to promote the object of the British and Foreign Bible Society, pp. 18—20. Lond. 1817, 8vo. See also Thirteenth Report of British & Foreign Bible Society, pp. 74—76.

In ARMENIA, several important events took place, intimately connected with Biblical Literature. The churches of the lesser Armenia, or Cilicia, submitted to the authority of the pope; and HAITHO, or as he is more properly called HETHOM, who reigned from A. D. 1224 to 1270, became a Franciscan friar, a short time before his death. This prince was not only attached to the church of Rome, but likewise acquainted with the Latin language; and published a new edition, or revision of the *Armenian* Bible, to which he added all the prefaces of Jerom. He has been charged with altering or corrupting his edition from the Vulgate, and inserting 1 John v. 7, from the Latin, because thirty-seven years after his death this passage was quoted at a council held at Sis, in Armenia, and is to be found in other Armenian records, though it is asserted the passage was not in the old Armenian MSS. But whether we allow the authenticity of the verse or not, Haitho is cleared from the charge of wilful corruption of the Sacred text, by the acknowledged fact, that this verse is not to be found in any modern Armenian MS. of the New Testament.[80]

GREGORIUS BAR HEBRAEUS, or ABUL-FARAI, more generally called ABULPHARAGIUS, was also a native of Armenia. He was born in 1226, at Malatia, a city near the source of the river Euphrates. His father, whose name was Aaron, was a physician, of eminence in his profession. In his youth he devoted himself with ardour to the study of philosophy and theology; and acquired an intimate knowledge of the Greek, and Syriac, and Arabic languages. Under the instructions of his father and other celebrated physicians, he pursued the study of medicine, and was famed for his excellence in that art. In the year 1243, Armenia was invaded by the Tartars, when he, and his father, were obliged to flee from Malatia, to avoid the fury of the invaders. The following year he

(80) Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. p. 102; and pt. ii. p. 616.

went to Antioch, and retiring to a cave near the city, adopted the life of an anchoret. From Antioch he removed to Tripoli, or Tripolis, in Syria. In his twentieth year, Ignatius, the patriarch of the Jacobites, ordained him bishop of Guba; and the following year, translated him to Lacabena. The patriarch Dionysius, whose cause he had espoused and defended against his opponent Johannes Bar Maadan, afterwards raised him to the see of Aleppo; and the universal suffrage of the bishops, called him in 1264 to be Mafrejan or Primate of the East, a dignity which he retained till his decease in 1286.[81]

The memory of this great man was honoured with the highest encomiums both by Christians and Mohammedans, who called him, *the Prince of Doctors, the most Excellent of the Excellent, the Model of his times,* and *the Glory and Phœnix of the age.*[82] A list of his numerous works is given by Asseman, in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Tom. II. the most important of which are his *History of Dynasties*, or *Abridgment of Universal History*, and *Horreum Mysteriorum*, or Commentaries on the Scriptures.

The HISTORY OF THE DYNASTIES, or ABRIDGMENT of UNIVERSAL HISTORY, is a compendium of the general history of the world, from the creation to his own time. It is divided into *ten Dynasties*, or governments. The first comprehends the history of the ancient patriarchs, from Adam to Moses; the second, that of Joshua and the Judges of Israel; the third includes the reigns of the kings of Israel; the fourth the history of the Chaldeans; the fifth, of the Magi, or Persians; the sixth, of the idolatrous Greeks; the seventh, of the Franks, or Romans; the eighth, of the Greeks under Christian emperors; the ninth, of the Saracens; and the tenth, of the Mogul Tartars. The two last dynasties are esteemed the most correct, and by far the most interesting in point of informa-

(81) Assemani Biblioth. Orientalis, II. pp. 244—321. Romæ, 1728, fol.
(82) Pocockii Specimen Hist. Arab. in Præfat. Oxon, 1650, 4to.

tion. In 1650, the very learned Dr. Edward Pocock published the introduction to the ninth dynasty, with a Latin translation, under the title of *Specimen Historiæ Arabum, sive Gregorii Abul Farajii Malatiensis de Origine et Moribus Arabum succincta Narratio.* The Arabic text and translation extend only to thirty pages, but are rendered invaluable by the editor's notes, from more than 100 MSS. forming by far the largest portion of the volume, which consists of 390 pages, beside the preface. The *extract* from Abulpharagius contains a compendious account of the *Saracens*, or *Arabians*, prior to the time of Mohammed; of the Impostor himself; of the religion which he introduced; and of the several sects into which his followers were divided. The *Notes* are a collection of curious and important extracts from Arabian authors, and original discussions relative to Mohammed, and to the origin, manners, literature, and religion of the Arabians; in which the learned editor has introduced a description of Mecca; accounts of the ancient Zabii, worshippers of the heavenly bodies; and of the eastern Magi; a brief discourse from the works of an Arabian physician, respecting the influence of different kinds of food upon the temper and disposition; and critical remarks on several other interesting topics. The celebrated orientalist, Simon Ockley, calls it *a golden work*, and pronounces it to be a *Key to all other Arabian authors.*[83] Dr. Pocock also published the entire *History of the Dynasties*, with a Latin translation, in 1663, 4to. which he dedicated to King Charles II.

The HORREUM MYSTERIORUM, or *Storehouse of Mysteries*, is a critical and expository edition of the SYRIAC SCRIPTURES, in which the editor corrects the punctuation of the text; gives the various readings of an extensive collation of MSS. and versions; adduces the critical remarks of other writers; and accompanies the whole with

(83) Ockleii Introductio ad Linguas Orientales, p. 147. Lond. 8vo.

brief explanatory scholia, or notes; thus emulating the labours of *Jacob of Edessa*, and *Dionysius Barsalibæus*; the former of whom was bishop of Edessa from 677 to 708, and wrote Remarks on the Book of Genesis; and the latter, bishop of Amida, from 1166 to 1171, and revised and published a new edition of the *Philoxenian* SYRIAC version of the NEW TESTAMENT.

The order in which Abulpharagius places and comments on the sacred books, is, first the Pentateuch, then the books of Joshua and Judges, the 1st and 2nd of Samuel, the Psalms, the 1st and 2nd of Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ruth, the story of Susannah, Job, Isaiah, the Twelve Minor Prophets, Jeremiah with the Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, with the story of Bel and the Dragon. The Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of James, and Peter, and John; and lastly, the Fourteen Epistles of St. Paul.—To the Notes, or Commentary, are added several chronological and other tables; the Canons of Eusebius; the Genealogy of Christ; the Names and Sufferings of the Apostles; and the Names of the Seventy Disciples of our Lord.

The extensive erudition, and critical research of the author, are discoverable in the numerous versions and writers to which he has had recourse in the prosecution of his work. Among the copies of the Scriptures, are the *Hebrew* and *Greek Texts* of the Old and New Testaments; the *Septuagint* version; the *Samaritan*, *Armenian*, and *Egyptian*, or *Coptic* versions; the *Pentapla*, and *Hexapla* of Origen; the versions of *Symmachus*, *Aquila*, and *Theodotion*; and beside the *Philoxenian* version of the *Syriac*, which he closely follows, the *Heraclean* and *Karkufite Syriac* versions, the former of which received its denomination from Thomas of Harkel, (see p. 200,) and the latter from its being adopted by the Nestorian Christians who inhabited the mountains of Assyria, the Syriac term

Karkufe meaning the *head or the top of a mountain.* Among the authors are *Basil, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Nazianzen, Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius, Ephrem, Jacob of Edessa, Pope Julius, Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis, Moses Bar-Cepha, Hippolytus, Theodore of Mopsuestia,* or *Mamestra,* and several others.

The whole of this erudite work has never been printed; Asseman, in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis,* tom. II. and Dudley Loftus, in the *London Polyglott,* tom. VI.* have made extracts from it; those in the Polyglott are from the notes on the *Psalms,* and were taken from a thick quarto MS. copy in the possession of Archbishop Usher.[84]

* The learned translator of Michaelis's *Introduction to the New Testament,* to whom Biblical scholars are so greatly indebted, and to whose valuable publications I have had frequent occasion to refer, is therefore mistaken, when he asserts, "the only few extracts which we have of this celebrated, and as is said, valuable work, are those which have been given by Asseman, in his Bibliotheca Orientalis." As he is also, when he supposes there was no edition of the *Syriac* version of the *Revelation of St. John,* published by De Dieu, 1627. That edition now lies before me. It is a beautiful thin quarto, printed by Elzevir, with an ornamented title-page, cut in wood. The *Syriac* text is placed in parallel columns, in *Syriac* and *Hebrew* characters; and underneath, in a similar manner, the *Greek* text, and *Latin* translation; these are followed by 46 pages of notes, forming, in the whole, a volume of 211 pages, exclusive of the dedication and preface. See *Marsh's Michaelis,* II. pt. ii. pp. 581. 543.

(84) Assemani Biblioth. Orient. II. pp. 282, 283.
Hottingeri Promtuarium, sive Biblioth. Orient. lib. iii. pt. ii. pp. 283, 284. Heidelberg, 1658, 4to.
Marsh's Michaelis, II. pt. i. pp. 56, 66. pt. ii. p. 581.

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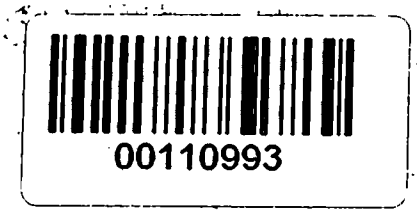
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